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University History Series

Earl F. Cheit

PROFESSOR, VICE CHANCELLOR, DEAN, VICE PRESIDENT, ATHLETIC DIRECTOR,
ADVISOR, TRUSTEE. UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, 1957-2002

With an Introduction by
Robert H. Cole

Interviews Conducted by
Germaine LaBerge
in 1999-2001

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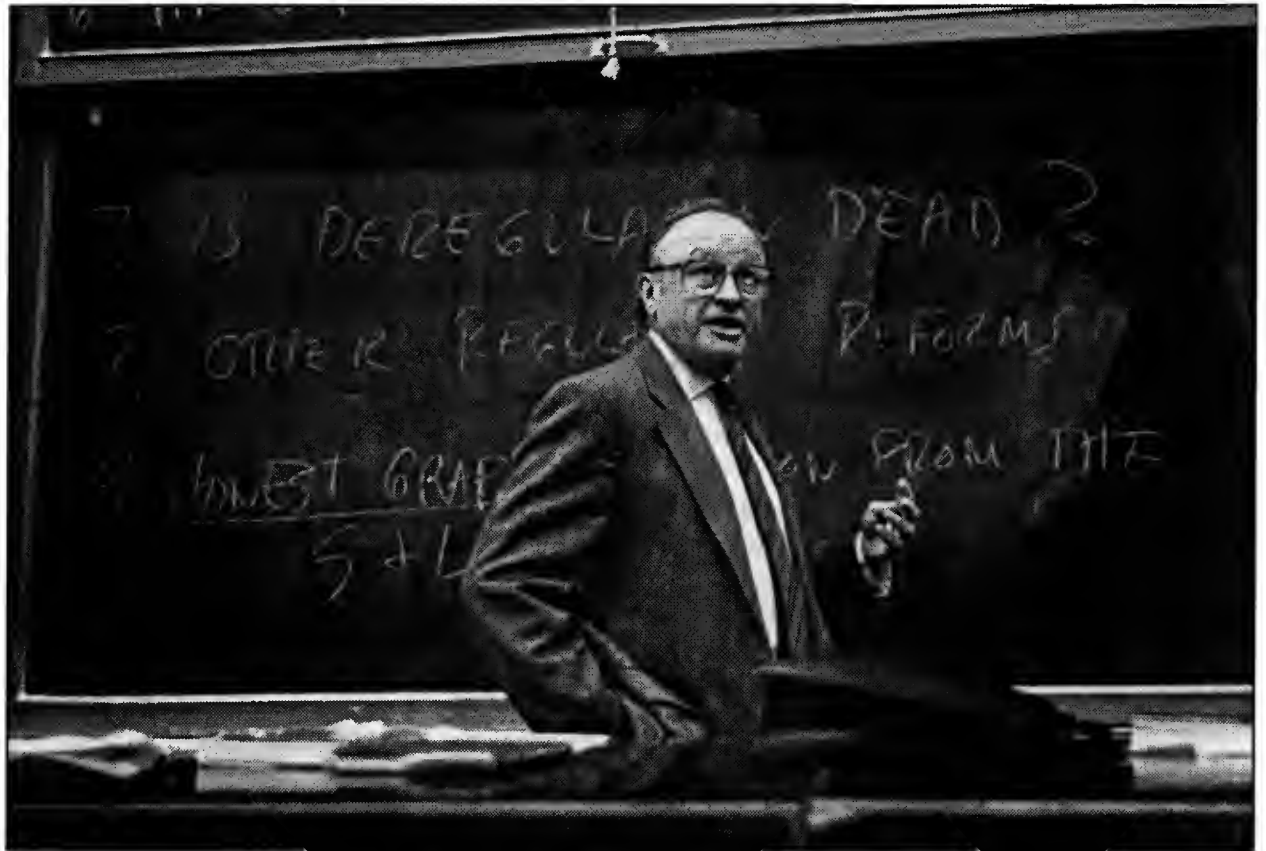
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Professor Earl Cheit, recipient, Academic Senate Distinguished Teaching Award, fall 1989.

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CHEIT, Earl F. (b. 1926)

Professor and university administrator

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Introduction by Robert H. Cole, Professor of Law Emeritus

Interviewed 1999-2001 by Germaine LaBerge for the University History Series, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

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PREFACE

When President Robert Gordon Sproul proposed that the Regents of the University of California establish a Regional Oral History Office, he was eager to have the office document both the University's history and its impact on the state. The Regents established the office in 1954, "to tape record the memoirs of persons who have contributed significantly to the history of California and the West," thus embracing President Sproul's vision and expanding its scope.

Administratively, the new program at Berkeley was placed within the library, but the budget line was direct to the Office of the President. An Academic Senate committee served as executive. In the four decades that have followed, the program has grown in scope and personnel, and the office has taken its place as a division of The Bancroft Library, the University's manuscript and rare books library. The essential purpose of the Regional Oral History Office, however, remains the same: to document the movers and shakers of California and the West, and to give special attention to those who have strong and continuing links to the University of California.

The Regional Oral History Office at Berkeley is the oldest oral history program within the University system, and the University History Series is the Regional Oral History Office's longest established and most diverse series of memoirs. This series documents the institutional history of the University, through memoirs with leading professors and administrators. At the same time, by tracing the contributions of graduates, faculty members, officers, and staff to a broad array of economic, social, and political institutions, it provides a record of the impact of the University on the wider community of state and nation.

The oral history approach captures the flavor of incidents, events, and personalities and provides details that formal records cannot reach. For faculty, staff, and alumni, these memoirs serve as reminders of the work of predecessors and foster a sense of responsibility toward those who will join the University in years to come. Thus, they bind together University participants from many eras and specialties, reminding them of interests in common. For those who are interviewed, the memoirs present a chance to express perceptions about the University, its role and lasting influences, and to offer their own legacy of memories to the University itself.

The University History Series over the years has enjoyed financial support from a variety of sources. These include alumni groups and individuals, campus departments, administrative units, and special groups as well as grants and private gifts. For instance, the Women's Faculty Club supported a series on the club and its members in order to preserve insights into the role of women on campus. The Alumni Association supported a number of interviews, including those with Ida Sproul, wife of the President, and athletic coaches Clint Evans and Brutus Hamilton.

Their own academic units, often supplemented with contributions from colleagues, have contributed for memoirs with Dean Ewald T. Grether, Business Administration; Professor Garff Wilson, Public Ceremonies; Deans Morrough P. O'Brien and John Whinnery, Engineering; and Dean Milton Stern, UC Extension. The Office of the Berkeley Chancellor has supported oral history memoirs with Chancellors Edward W. Strong and Albert H. Bowker.

To illustrate the University/community connection, many memoirs of important University figures have in turn inspired, enriched, or grown out of broader series documenting a variety of significant California issues. For example, the Water Resources Center-sponsored interviews of Professors Percy H. McGaughey, Sidney T. Harding, and Wilfred Langelier have led to an ongoing series of oral histories on California water issues. The California Wine Industry Series originated with an

interview of University enologist William V. Cruess and now has grown to a fifty-nine-interview series of California's premier winemakers. California Democratic Committeewoman Elinor Heller was interviewed in a series on California Women Political Leaders, with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities; her oral history was expanded to include an extensive discussion of her years as a Regent of the University through interviews funded by her family's gift to The Bancroft Library.

To further the documentation of the University's impact on state and nation, Berkeley's Class of 1931, as their class gift on the occasion of their fiftieth anniversary, endowed an oral history series titled "The University of California, Source of Community Leaders." The series reflects President Sproul's vision by recording the contributions of the University's alumni, faculty members and administrators. The first oral history focused on President Sproul himself. Interviews with thirty-four key individuals dealt with his career from student years in the early 1900s through his term as the University's eleventh President, from 1930-1958.

Gifts such as these allow the Regional Oral History Office to continue to document the life of the University and its link with its community. Through these oral history interviews, the University keeps its own history alive, along with the flavor of irreplaceable personal memories, experiences, and perceptions. A full list of completed memoirs and those in process in the series is included following the index of this volume.

September 1994

Regional Oral History Office
University of California
Berkeley, California

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INTRODUCTION by Robert H. Cole

Character is fate, they say, and, in one sense, this is little more than a truism. In other senses, it is deeply ironic, cautionary, theological. For understanding Budd Cheit's story, it is something else, though, and adds absolutely essential information. In fact, it is the story. His remarkable career is one of virtue rewarded, with the emphasis all on the virtue. The force that has driven Budd's career is character, and his wide achievements are the realized expression of character.

Respect for other people is a good place to start a brief survey of what accounts for Budd Cheit. Budd's respect for the worth and integrity of each person is perhaps best illustrated by how thoroughly it is ingrained in the details of his daily life. He shows that respect, for example, in the warmth of his friendships, in unfailing politeness and attentiveness, in keen observation of people's actions and motives, and in almost self-effacing commitment to collaborative work. His capacity early in his career to have learned from outstanding mentors was a productive form of regard for them. The Cheits' uncommon philanthropy is a lovely manifestation of their respect for other people.

That almost self-effacingness brings us to the scarce quality of modesty. Budd's judgment is never -- I do mean never -- touched by self-interest. His just credit is never sought nor claimed. The other person's ideas and efforts are always publicly acknowledged. Budd's accomplishments and honors are often not disclosed at all. At this late date, I am just learning for the first time of a women's program in Bangladesh, an honorary degree, a Cheit Endowment for Excellence in Teaching, and much else. Reading the draft of the cornucopic table of contents of this oral history (the history itself an introducer does not ordinarily see) makes me wonder where I have been these last 30 years. I haven't come close to keeping track of all he has accomplished since the 1960s.

Remember it is only "almost" self-effacing. Character requires self-knowledge and that requires due respect for oneself, too. So Budd has the confidence to make painful decisions and to make honest moral judgments when they are required. Signing great sheaves of totally routine personnel orders and the like, he would delight to mock this exercise in seeming power, but one can only take seriously the courage he needed, for example, to discipline a top subordinate or say no under tremendous pressure.

By temperament, Budd would prefer not to have had such conflicts. He prefers to maximize what everyone has to offer. You may not see it -- that's the modesty -- but Budd is nevertheless a man of great resolve, determination, and of course self-discipline. Yet such is his temperament that I have never -- again, I mean it literally -- seen him express anger, even when sorely provoked, although I have seen him tempted. I have never seen him express impatience, even in the hottest heat of battle. Nor have I seen the kind of abruptness or distraction that often goes with great self-discipline, not even that I can recall under withering time pressures in the unstable trenches of regents' meetings.

All of this is served by, and in the service of, a powerful mind; a sharp and catholic curiosity; strict intellectual honesty; a profound habit of taking note of immediate social or political phenomena and seeing where and when else they shed light; a wonderful urge to generalize tempered by a wise preference for what has been called "the search for intermediate premises" over grand theorizing. Intellect is judicious and inseparable from character in Budd.

To virtues and intellect we must add Budd's sense of fun, itself astute, empathetic, and a wise escape valve to boot. There are the wry commentaries on the passing scene ("frankly but honestly" after Nixon), the aphorisms ("it's always what comes after the 'but' that counts"), and the playfulness ("hence, the fence," or, a buoyant cornet in a Dixieland band, or, a parody memo that was so irreverent toward student protest we had to bury it for a hundred years in the campus's time capsule).

One might try to derive, as it were, Budd's accomplishments and public stature from these qualities. I cannot attempt that here. The reader will certainly see many of these connections in the history that follows. But in passing, let me add another possible organizing theme to look for. Consider how much of the character I have tried too briefly to capture seems to express an early and continuing desire to learn and a growing capacity to teach and instruct. It is no accident that Budd is an academic.

Nor can I begin to list examples of how this combination of virtue, intellect, and humor has enriched the lives of countless people, not least mine. I am continually aware of Budd's profound influence and gift. It will have to suffice simply to mention one example, the frequent strategy sessions in the post-FSM mid-sixties -- they were really advanced seminars -- that, as the chancellor's faculty consultant, I was privileged to join with Budd as executive vice chancellor, Chancellor Roger Heyns, and John Searle as assistant chancellor. These disciplined conversations should be a model for how top government or other executives ought to understand their work. We analyzed our immediate tactical situation; related it to our larger place in American society, educational development and political movements; thought through the ethics of our role; and reached difficult specific decisions. All of this was done in light of our academic work, with passion and intensity and yet the most attentive and responsive interaction, with an incongruous serenity, optimistic confidence, and enough detachment to see the humor in our embattled predicaments. I don't mind saying that these are among the most important and memorable experiences of my life. Although, or rather because, these were efforts of four of us, they perfectly exemplify what Budd did and who he is. The stamp of his management approach was on those seminars. In his independent executive thinking, he follows the same pattern of disinterested analysis and contextual depth.

For the sources of character and talent no one can adequately account. We can note some obvious candidates, though. For Budd, his small town, working class upbringing seems a perfect beginning for a self-made star in the major leagues. The shrewd observation of people might be right out of a life on the weathered plains. His clear-eyed practice of selecting from experience examples and vignettes that point a moral and of seeing just what the moral is seem rabbinic in origin. The meritocracy of academia and the particular egalitarianism of the public land grant universities must be formative. And then there is marriage to a strong, independent, accomplished woman. June herself, and their remarkably mutually supportive relationship, deserve an Introduction of their own.

This classic American background -- small town, work ethic, melting pot, and all -- does shape how Budd has used the various institutional opportunities in his life. The influence of the Institute of Industrial Relations finds expression in Budd's feeling for "the hod carriers and pipe fitters" of this world. His education in business leadership gets expressed in the form of his extremely influential role in developing the crucial academic field of the social responsibility of business, not to mention the social responsibility he enacts as a member of corporate and charitable boards.

If Budd Cheit is thus an all-American boy, he is surely also a Renaissance man. He has been scholar of business and of education, teacher, business educator and leader, politician, university dean, executive vice chancellor and vice president, athletic director, musician, senior advisor to foundations of world-wide importance, patron of the arts, counselor to major cultural institutions, and more. He has done so

much at such high levels that, I was shocked to recognize, it was easy entirely to have forgotten that he had been vice president of this university. Even this astounding set of accomplishments is itself only part of the picture. This is a history of a public professional life, not a full biography. In introducing it, I have therefore not attempted to talk about Budd's abiding devotion to June and their four children and growing families. We will have to bear in mind that even this oral history will not cover the whole admirable range of his story.

But come to think of it, if Budd is all-American and Renaissance polymath, he is also -- forgive me -- Aristotelean man. After all, Aristotle said happiness is activity of soul, in accordance with virtue, over a complete life. If he was right -- and who are we to argue? -- then Budd Cheit is that extremely rare happy man. It's just the right fate.

Robert H. Cole, Professor of Law Emeritus
University of California, School of Law

Berkeley, California
March 24, 2002

INTERVIEW HISTORY--Earl F. Cheit

Earl F. Cheit collects hats--a navy fedora, a sturdy Panama, an olive houndstooth check, the University of Minnesota mortarboard--and he wears them all with style. But he has donned many other hats throughout his life, those of scholar-professor, lawyer-economist, university and foundation administrator, consultant, arbitrator, arts patron, musician, athletic director and fan, friend-advisor, father, and husband. So many titles did Earl F. Cheit hold at the University of California that Berkeley Chancellor Chang-Lin Tien once described Budd (a variation of Buddy, the nickname coined by his two older sisters) as the record holder.

In Professor Bob Cole's stunning introduction to this interview, he emphasizes Budd's integrity, modesty, compassion, and intellectual vigor, and of course, his overriding sense of humor. As someone who downplays his accomplishments, Budd always gives credit to a team, whether that team be his family, the faculty Emergency Executive Committee at the end of the Free Speech Movement, his business school faculty, or his fellow board members at CNF Transportation, Inc. In his oral history, he did admit to being a "very good typist." That trait, however, did not warrant the recording of a full-life oral history. It is a remarkably far-ranging and dedicated service to the University of California and to society in general that deserves this history.

No stranger to the Regional Oral History Office (ROHO), Earl F. Cheit as dean of the business schools was instrumental in securing funds for the oral history of one of his predecessors and mentors, Ewald T. Grether. In addition, he wrote the graceful introduction to the memoir of Berkeley Chancellor Roger Heyns, under whom he served as executive vice chancellor. Even at that time, Budd Cheit was on founding ROHO director Willa Baum's famous "list": distinguished individuals whose stories need to be captured on tape for future generations of researchers. But because of his busy travel schedule and pro bono work, it took four or five years to pin him down. Harriet Nathan, now retired but then director of ROHO's University History Series, had several meetings with Dean Emeritus Cheit from 1994 to 1999, talking about the prospect of recording his oral history. His wife June (who herself is a supporter of ROHO's Disability Rights and Independent Living Movement project) encouraged him and suggested he do this for his seventieth birthday. He sat down for his first interview at age seventy-three. Unfortunately for her, Harriet had too many irons in the fire at that point to conduct the interview. The happy task fell to me.

There were twenty-three interviews (forty-four tapes) extending from August 12, 1999, to September 27, 2001. All took place in the dean's compact office at the Haas Business School, overlooking the courtyard and the Earl F. Cheit classroom building (so named because the major donors, the Haas family, requested that the dean emeritus, who spearheaded the fundraising, be honored in this way.) He arrived at each session fully prepared, having culled through his datebooks and files for the years under discussion, and having reflected on them. Often there would be a show-and-tell: a CHEIT FOR RICHMOND HIGH SCHOOL BOARD bumper sticker; a hand-carved wooden bear from an admirer; the Order of Leopold medal. A man who uses his time wisely, he was often either coming from or going to a board meeting of Cal Performances, the UC Press, Mills College, a chancellor's advisory group, or the Little Thinkers' Lunch at the Faculty Club. When asked how he managed to accomplish so many tasks in twenty-four hours, he downplayed: "Well, let's just say I have had a lot of energy."

The oral history follows the trail of a young boy from Hague, North Dakota, the youngest child of Etta and Morris Cheit. From an early age, Budd worked in the family store and on nearby farms, played football on a six-man team and the cornet in a small band. Just sixteen, he lost his mother prematurely, and learned to fend for himself in many ways. His father and two older sisters had moved to Minneapolis, where he joined them on completion of high school, number two in his class. He entered the University of Minnesota with the goal of becoming a sportswriter but instead gained a B.S.L., a J.D., and a Ph.D. in economics, the first in his family to attain a college degree.

A raconteur extraordinaire, Budd recounts the events which shaped his life, always highlighting the people involved. As a student at the University of Minnesota, he happened on Professor Stefan Riesenfeld (later to come to UC Berkeley's Boalt Hall) in a class called Modern Social Legislation. Budd's interest in social insurance and industrial relations was piqued and he decided to pursue a Ph.D. in economics. As a student, he became active in Democratic politics, working in Hubert Humphrey's campaign for mayor. He joined a discussion group, the Minnesota Philosophical Society. And he met a beautiful Minnesota alumna, June Andrews, at the Industrial Relations Center on campus.

The interview covers these early years and then traces his career path from his first teaching position at St. Louis University to his beloved University of California at Berkeley. His loyalty to the campus (and the university) is unsurpassed. He stepped into many roles, often difficult ones, because his presence was asked and needed, not because he sought acclaim. One such job, that of interim athletic director, he took for the grand salary of one dollar a year. When asked about his favorite role, Budd without a moment's hesitation said: Professor. How apt then that his students voted to give him the "Earl F. Cheit Award for Distinguished Teaching" in 1987, and the Academic Senate awarded him its Distinguished Teaching Award in 1989, the highest honor given for instruction.

Good teaching, writing and research do not always come in one package. But Budd Cheit has combined them all. For years, he wrote book reviews and business columns for various newspapers. His textbook, *Economic and Social Security; Social Insurance and Other Approaches*, was readable and understandable even to a novice in the field. *The Useful Arts and the Liberal Tradition* (described by Budd as "nifty") formed the basis for an experimental course in the School of Education. His research findings on the financing of higher education, and on the economic aspects of occupational disability, are pertinent still in the twenty-first century. Budd continues to write with precision, wit, and knowledge--from presentations on global economics to dashed-off notes.

Interview tapes were transcribed and edited at the Regional Oral History Office. Budd looked the transcript over carefully, adding relevant details, correcting spellings, and changing words for accuracy, but not altering the easy conversational tone of the interview. After the transcript was corrected, he asked for one more look. Photographs and relevant appendix materials were added and the transcript was indexed at ROHO. What cannot be captured on the printed page are the inflections and enthusiasm in his voice, the twinkle in the eye, as he recalled people and life events. Budd's excellent recall, articulate reflections, and witticisms made the sessions a delight for me.

Although this volume is entitled Earl F. Cheit, it is also the story of June Andrews Cheit, his beloved spouse of fifty-one years. It was she whom he consulted when there were difficult decisions looming (e.g., whether to stay in academe or work in the business world; whether to leave a tenured position at St. Louis University for an insecure three-year appointment at the University of California); she who edited his writing; she who sat in the audience at graduation when Dean Cheit wore a bullet-

proof vest as a precaution in the face of a disturbed student; she who answered threatening phone calls during the turbulent sixties; she who accompanied him as equal partner on his educational travels. The tenor of the interview underscores their close partnership and devotion.

Many thanks to Professor of Law Emeritus Robert H. Cole for his warm, thoughtful introduction to his friend and colleague's oral history. And we are most grateful to CNF Inc., on whose board Budd served for twenty-four years, and who, at his request, funded this memoir as his retirement gift .

On a personal note, I am grateful to Budd and June Cheit for the opportunity to peek into their lives and find inspiration and enrichment there. It is a privilege to join the wide circle of Cheit admirers. The profound impact their lives have made on the University of California as a whole, and the world outside, reflects their shared values.

The Regional Oral History Office was established in 1954 to augment through tape-recorded memoirs the Library's materials on the history of California and the West. Copies of all interviews are available for research use in The Bancroft Library and in the UCLA Department of Special Collections. The office is under the direction of Richard Cándida Smith, and the administrative direction of Charles B. Faulhaber, The James D. Hart Director of The Bancroft Library, at the University of California, Berkeley.

Germaine LaBerge,
Interviewer/Editor

June 2002
Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library
University of California, Berkeley

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

(Please write clearly. Use black ink.)

Your full name EARL FRANK CHEIT

Date of birth AUG. 5, 1926 Birthplace MPLS. MINN

Father's full name MORRIS CHEIT

Occupation STOREKEEPER Birthplace KIEV, RUSSIA

Mother's full name ETTA WARSHAUSKY

Occupation HOMEMAKER Birthplace ODESSA, RUSSIA

Your spouse/partner JUNE ANDREWS CHEIT

Occupation HOMEMAKER/EDITOR Birthplace MPLS. MINN

Your children WENDY, DAVID, ROSS, JULIE

Where did you grow up? HAGUE, NORTH DAKOTA

Present community BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Education B.S. UNIV. MINN. LL.B. (J.D.) UNIV. MINN.

PH.D. UNIV. MINN.

Occupation(s) PROFESSOR & ADMINISTRATOR

Areas of expertise BUS/GOV'T RELATIONS; REGULATION;
CORPORATE GOVERNANCE; TRADE POLICY & INSTITUTIONS;
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Other interests or activities PERFORMING ARTS;
INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS; HIKING

Organizations in which you are active V.C. PRESS; CAL PERFORMANCES;
MILLS COLLEGE

SIGNATURE Earl F. Cheit DATE: 8/20/01

INTERVIEW WITH EARL F. CHEIT

I OVERVIEW OF UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SERVICE

[Interview 1: August 12, 1999] ##¹

Ten Payroll Titles, a UC Record?

LaBerge: It's August 12, 1999, and I'm at the Haas Business School with Dean Emeritus Earl Cheit. Before we go to our usual beginning and ask about your birth date and place, I'd like to ask you about a statement that is often used to introduce you.

Cheit: Of course. I'm pleased that you're not starting me on a linear path.

LaBerge: Good. We'll get there soon. But first Chancellor [Chang-Lin] Tien, Chancellor [Robert] Berdahl and others have said that you hold the record for the number of jobs held at the university. Do you?

Cheit: I don't know who has the record, if there is one. But after hearing Chancellor Tien say it at the dedication of this building [Walter A. Haas Business School] and Chancellor Berdahl recently saying something quite similar, I actually made a list.

First and foremost, I am a professor. I have always considered teaching to be my main job. When one is a professor at Cal, of course, one is also a researcher. I came to Cal in 1957 and over the years I have had many other opportunities to serve the university. My first administrative job was associate director of the Institute of Industrial Relations where I had worked as research economist. I became executive vice chancellor in 1965. I was 39 years old at the time, which looking back, seems quite young. I left that position in 1969 for sabbatical leave, and then returned to the business school, where I became chairman of my department, a group in the business school called Business and Public Policy.

LaBerge: I will be asking you about all of these jobs. But for now can you say something about the others?

¹## This symbol indicates that a tape or tape segment has begun or ended. A guide to the tapes follows the transcript.

Cheit: Yes. I became dean of the business school in '76 and served through '82. At President Saxon's request, I also served as acting vice president for finance and business affairs for the statewide university system. Then, in 1990-1991, I became acting dean of the business school again, after Dean [Raymond] Miles and before Dean [William] Hasler.

After I became dean emeritus in 1991, I was appointed advisor to the Office of the Chancellor. The payroll title is faculty assistant to the chancellor. I did that for several years. In 1993, I was appointed interim athletic director for about five months, 1993 to 1994. For about the last three years I held the position of faculty assistant to the provost and senior vice president, where I did various jobs for Jud King.

When you add these up, I think it comes to ten different payroll titles. Whether that's a record or not, I can't say. [laughter] I guess I'm just pleased at all the opportunities I've had here, and hope that I've lived up to the expectations people had for me.

LaBerge: I'm sure you have. Was one of them your favorite?

Cheit: I think I liked almost all of them. The acting vice president was head of such a large organization, I didn't even get to meet all the people who worked for me, except in large gatherings. I felt that I kept things moving, and we actually adopted one very important innovation but it wasn't my initiative. I helped push it through. It's called the STIP, the short term investment pool, which we may talk about later. That was the work of a man by the name of Joe Pastrone and some of his colleagues.

I think, fundamentally, the best administrative job in the university is dean, because you're closest to the work of the institution. You're close to students and faculty and their concerns. You're close to the curriculum. I guess if I had to identify one of these as the one that gave me the most enduring satisfaction it would be dean.

When I was executive vice chancellor, I tried to recruit George Shultz to become dean here. He, more than once, has told me that of all the jobs he had, including Secretary of Labor, Secretary of the Treasury, and Secretary of State, that he enjoyed being dean of the business school at the University of Chicago the most. Now he may have just been kind to me because I was a dean. [laughter] At any rate, if I had to choose, I would choose dean.

II FAMILY BACKGROUND AND CHILDHOOD

Emigration of Parents from Russia

LaBerge: Okay, with all that ahead of us now, let's go back to the beginning. Tell me about the circumstances of your birth--the date, the place.

Cheit: All right. I was born on August 5, 1926.

LaBerge: So you just had a birthday.

Cheit: I did. Seventy-three. I was born in Minneapolis, and my mother went to Minneapolis from our home in Hague, North Dakota, to have me because Hague didn't have an OB man. Hague only had one doctor.

LaBerge: I looked at the map to find Hague, and it wasn't listed. It must be very small.

Cheit: Hague at its peak, I think, had 400 people. It has about ninety today. Hague is located in the southern part of North Dakota. It's equidistant from the east-west borders and about seven miles from the South Dakota border.

LaBerge: That was quite a trip to Minneapolis, wasn't it?

Cheit: About 425 miles, yes.

LaBerge: There must be a story about that. Did she go early?

Cheit: I don't know the details, but I do know that both of my sisters were born in Minneapolis and my mother lost two children--one in childbirth and one slightly afterward. Both of these were in Hague, and it may be that after that she decided that she needed expert obstetrical care.

LaBerge: Where do you fall in the family?

Cheit: I'm the youngest.

LaBerge: If you don't mind--the names of your sisters and--

Cheit: My oldest sister is Inez. She was born in 1917 and she died in 1997. And then Audrey was born in 1921 and she lives in St. Louis Park, Minnesota. It was she I just visited.

LaBerge: And she knows some of the family history.

Cheit: She's the family archivist to the extent that we have one.

LaBerge: What was your mother's name?

Cheit: Etta.

LaBerge: And maiden name?

Cheit: Warshausky.

LaBerge: What can you tell me about the family background? Where did your mother come from?

Cheit: Both of my parents came from Russia. My father was born in Kiev in 1890 and he was orphaned. He came to Ellis Island with an older sister in 1898. He was an eight-year-old.

LaBerge: What was his name?

Cheit: Morris.

LaBerge: Did he talk about that?

Cheit: Yes, although not a lot. He then located in South Dakota in a town called Herreid--which was about twelve or fifteen miles from Hague where he eventually located--because his older sister and her husband had gone there about five years earlier.

LaBerge: Okay. This is another sister than the one he came to Ellis Island with?

Cheit: Yes.

LaBerge: So he was brought up then by the older sisters?

Cheit: Right. They were farming at that point. I think immigrants got land grants if they homesteaded. He worked on this farm for room and board as a child, really, I think for about seven or eight years or so. Then he got a job on the railroad, and he worked on the railroad in North Dakota.

LaBerge: Did he tell you anything about the trip from Russia to Ellis Island?

Cheit: He really didn't talk about it. Perhaps his memories were vague. My aunt who brought him, Auntie Anna, talked about it a little bit, but not a lot. So I don't have a good sense of what it was like to be on the ship. Nor my mother. She was born in Odessa in 1895. She came to Ellis Island in 1912. That was kind of interesting because she left Odessa and went to Paris with her family. She lived in Paris for [looking at notes]--. Her father had come first, and then her mother and three siblings went to France, and they stayed there although I don't know the exact date. I guess it was a couple of years before they left France and came to America.

LaBerge: Do you know the reason they left Russia?

Cheit: In all cases, to escape the czar's army and persecution. They were Jews, and they were very vulnerable.

LaBerge: Do you know what your grandfather did?

Cheit: My grandfather on my father's side I never knew. I do not know what he did. My sister thinks that he may have been a teacher, but she's not positive.

LaBerge: And how about your mother's father?

Cheit: When he came over he worked on the railroad initially, then he got a job as a clerk in a store, and later owned a store in Zeeland, North Dakota. In the family lore he is described as kind of a dreamer and a would-be novelist. But I have no recollection of him.

LaBerge: Do you have recollection of your grandmother?

Cheit: On my mother's side, yes. She survived my grandfather's death. I recall her as a very dear person who struggled to make ends meet. My recollection of her is always working and struggling to keep the household together.

LaBerge: What were their names? Warshausky was their last name?

Cheit: Right. And her first name was Celia. His name was Harry.

LaBerge: They came to the United States when your mother was fifteen or so. Or maybe more than that.

Cheit: She was seventeen.

LaBerge: They landed in Ellis Island. From there, where did they go?

Cheit: They went to Napoleon, North Dakota.

LaBerge: These names are wonderful, aren't they? [laughter]

Cheit: Yes, they are. They went to Napoleon, North Dakota. She was an apprentice. She worked in a store learning to be a clerk. I think this is accurate, that my father met her because the railroad that he worked on went through Napoleon, and somehow they met.

LaBerge: What railroad was it?

Cheit: It was probably the Milwaukee Road.

LaBerge: But you don't know the circumstances. That wasn't a story you heard around the dinner table.

Cheit: No. I don't know the circumstances of their meeting.

Extended Family in North Dakota

LaBerge: The only grandparent you really remember is your grandmother from your mother's side.

Cheit: That's right.

LaBerge: Where did they live when you were born?

Cheit: They lived in Zeeland.

LaBerge: And how far from Hague is it?

Cheit: About twelve miles.

LaBerge: Did you get together fairly frequently?

Cheit: We got together fairly frequently on Sunday afternoons. The family would get in the car and drive to Zeeland and visit and have dinner there--or supper, as we called it--and then drove back.

LaBerge: Did you have cousins? Other people would be there too?

Cheit: The short answer to that is no.

LaBerge: How about your aunts and uncles? Did you get together with them?

Cheit: Yes. The two aunts and the uncle on that side of the family I would see there--Auntie Ida, who just died last week at age eighty-nine--

LaBerge: What was her last name?

Cheit: She changed her name to Warshay. And Auntie Bessie. There's an Auntie Bessie on both sides of the family. But Auntie Bessie was severely visually handicapped, I think from scarlet fever--that's what my sister told me. She was hit by an automobile and she died in 1955, I think.

LaBerge: So Auntie Ida and Auntie Bessie were on your mother's side.

Cheit: Right. And there was a brother who was something of a rebel, and his real name was Isadore, but who at some point changed it to Akbar because he was a magician. He was with the circus for a while and was a schemer and told fortunes on riverboats and did that sort of thing. My mother never wanted me to spend a lot of time with him [laughter], fearful of his possible influence on me. He died about twenty-five years ago.

LaBerge: But did you spend some time with him?

Cheit: Not very much, no. In later years I would see him at family gatherings. But I did not have a lot of contact with him, no.

LaBerge: Did they all live somewhere near Hague or Zeeland?

Cheit: Bessie lived at home all of her life. She had jobs in sheltered workshops. Akbar left home very early. And Ida taught school but then tried to make it on the stage in New York. She had aspirations to be an actor. I think she actually played off-Broadway in some things, but never really had a stage career that she hoped for, and then came back home.

LaBerge: What about the aunts on the other side?

Cheit: There were more than I knew, actually. I didn't know all of my father's siblings.

LaBerge: They probably split up.

Cheit: They did indeed, since they didn't come over at the same time. Some of them changed their name to Chiat [spells]. Either they or the agent at Ellis Island changed it for them.

LaBerge: Your name really is Cheit [spells], correct?

Cheit: Right. But my father's sisters and brothers became Chiat. But my father was Cheit. My sister tells me that Cheit was the name that he came to Ellis Island with. He had eight siblings. But I actually only knew--well, I've met four of them, I think: Auntie Bessie, whom I knew well and at one point lived with; Auntie Anna, who he came over with; Uncle Bert, and Uncle Harry Chiat, and I knew them a little bit. The others I have met on occasion but have no real recollection of.

LaBerge: Have you been back to Ellis Island to look up anything?

Cheit: The answer is yes and no. Yes, I was back there and it was a short visit, and we tried to find their names and weren't successful. You need more time than we had with their computers. I have tried, not very successfully, through the Mormon website--and then there's a website for Russian Jews who came over, but I've not had success there either. I can't say I've spent a lot of time with it, but my sister told me when I was just in Minneapolis that my father's family sometime earlier had the name Corvetski [spells, but is a little unsure]. They changed it to Cheit in Russia. I was startled. I had never heard of it until just a month ago. She learned this from some notes that had been taken from a conversation with Auntie Anna by someone else, so that actually it's kind of a fragmentary piece of knowledge. The assumption is that the family name was Corvetski and changed in Russia to Cheit, and the guess is that it was part of trying not to sound too Jewish in Russia because of fear of pogroms, a fear of being forced into the czar's army. They were on the run. But nothing comes up with Corvetski on these websites either.

LaBerge: Even just having this in your oral history, somebody might find out.

Cheit: That's right. And I will pursue it a little more.

LaBerge: I think it's interesting too to hear things from your sibling because sometimes we have different experiences growing up in the same family--or learn different things at different times.

Hague Mercantile Company, the Family Store

LaBerge: Tell me a little bit about your family life: what you remember as a child, what you did--did you work on a farm? Did you have hobbies?

Cheit: Yes, I did work on a farm. I'll come to that. We lived in this little community. I grew up in this little community of Hague. Hague was settled, as you might guess, by Dutch settlers. That's where the name comes from, although when I lived there the entire town was Catholic except for one Dutch family and ourselves. Hague was a town of maybe 350 people. We've guessed that at its peak it may have reached 400, and that may be a stretch. Hague was a farming community. The life of Hague centered around the church, which was very important there.

LaBerge: This was the Catholic Church?

Cheit: Yes. It was the only religious institution in town. The school was a consolidated school--it was very small. It had four classrooms.

LaBerge: And this was the elementary school?

Cheit: It was everything.

LaBerge: The high school too?

Cheit: Yes. To pick up the narrative back to my father, he worked on the railroad, saved some money, worked in a store, became the manager, and then bought a store so that he ran the Hague Mercantile Company in Hague, North Dakota.

LaBerge: And was that *the* store? Did it sell everything?

Cheit: Yes, it sold everything. It was one of three stores, but they were all general merchandise. He sold dry goods, he sold food, groceries, clothing, everything--salt licks for the cattle, for farmers--blocks of salt. So the store really dominated our life. I worked in the store from a very early age.

LaBerge: Did you live above the store or something?

Cheit: No, we did not. We had a house in Hague. Hague had no running water, and at the time I was living in Hague there were only a few telephones in the town--we didn't have a telephone. We had one in our store but we did not have one in our home. So that's where I grew up. I went to that school, to the Hague school.

Hague Elementary and High School

LaBerge: For instance, how many people in your class?

Cheit: In my graduating class there were nine. My family needles me because I was not number one in my graduating class [laughter]. I *was* number two. The woman who was number one became a nun; in Hague, the families of a lot of the brightest young men hoped they would go into the priesthood, and the young women often went into religious orders.

The Hague school is not terribly interesting, but an interesting thing happened to Hague school, and that is it ran out of money. It went bankrupt. It was in desperate financial circumstances, and so in 1938 or 1939, I believe, the school was turned over to the Order of St. Benedict, the nuns. Here you have a public school--I often think about that experience when we think about the separation of church and state. The nuns ran the school and they were paid--I suppose--nuns' wages, which were very minimal. During my high school years, I was essentially taught by nuns in a public school. Wonderful teachers. There was catechism in the morning and I was excused.

LaBerge: That's very liberal for that time.

Cheit: Yes, and I was the envy of all my classmates because I could go out in the playground and fool around, although it was sort of lonesome out there because until some of the kids from Hull

who were Dutch came, and they were also excused because they were Protestants. We could kind of fool around together out in the playground. But we had fifteen minutes in the morning for catechism.

I've been told now, by the way, that the school has been closed. The building is there, but it's not operating anymore. I was taught by nuns. I have a very positive recollection of that. They were wonderful teachers, they cared about us. But it was a public school.

LaBerge: Do you know how long that went on?

Cheit: I left Hague when my mother died in Minneapolis. She had come to Minneapolis because her mother was gravely ill, and her mother died--my grandmother. My mother died a week later in Minneapolis.

LaBerge: When was this?

Cheit: It was 1943.

LaBerge: So before you finished high school.

Cheit: Yes. I really have been on my own from about age sixteen. My father sold the store and moved to Minneapolis.

More on Schooling ##

Cheit: The school had four rooms, and it was primary one, two, and three, and then another room had four, five, and six, and another seventh and eighth grade, and then nine, ten, eleven, and twelve were in one room.

My recollection of it is really quite favorable. In fact, my sister and I were remembering how in grade school at the end of the day we had to clear our desk and sit in position with our hands folded in front of us and then sing a goodnight song and then file out by rows. My recollection of the teachers is not terribly specific but it is really quite favorable. I enjoyed school a lot. I played sports. We played six-man football; we didn't have enough people to play eleven-man football. I also played on the basketball team.

LaBerge: Did you play other schools?

Cheit: Yes, we played other schools. We didn't have a gymnasium in this four-room schoolhouse, so we played in the church basement. The basement of the church had a cement floor and a very low ceiling. The ceiling was really the height of the top of the backboard, so you could not arch any shots [laughter].

LaBerge: What were your favorite subjects in school?

Cheit: I liked geography a lot. I liked social studies--I think it might have been called that then. I liked typing. I handle my computer keyboard with great efficiency [laughter]. I took typing in the eighth grade and became a very good typist.

LaBerge: And how about languages and science? What did you have?

Cheit: Virtually no science. I did not study languages. Hague was a German community. I learned to speak German about the time I learned to speak English as a child, because I worked in the store and most of the transactions in the store were in German.

LaBerge: So your parents spoke German.

Cheit: Our parents spoke German in the store, yes. It's not High German; it's kind of a Low German. It was enough so that the first time I went to Vienna I was able to understand what people were saying, standing on the street corner. I've lost a lot of it now.

LaBerge: Did your parents speak Russian at home?

Cheit: No, they did not. My father used to joke that his education was to the second grade, as far as he went in school. So he was really a self-educated person. My mother read Yiddish. She knew Yiddish, and she read Hebrew, actually, but my father did not. English was spoken at home.

LaBerge: Did your mother know French from having been in Paris?

Cheit: Some, yes, but not a lot.

LaBerge: But you didn't study any languages at school, not even Latin?

Cheit: No.

LaBerge: Did you like to read as a child?

Cheit: Yes, a lot. We had newspapers--I became a newspaper reader. I double-checked this recently when I talked to my sister, because we used to take the *Bismarck Tribune* which was delivered daily. We were ninety-six miles from Bismarck, but they brought it in daily. And we got the *Minneapolis Tribune*, which came by train a day late, and the *Emmons County Record*, which was a paper published in Linton, North Dakota, about twenty-eight miles away, which was a weekly. I was a reader, and particularly my father read newspapers avidly, and I became a newspaper reader, which I am very much today.

LaBerge: Did you sell it in your store or was it delivered?

Cheit: No, we did not sell newspapers.

Books, Politics, Religion

LaBerge: What were some of your favorite books?

Cheit: I read sports books. I can remember Gary Grayson's *Forward Pass*. I remember that book for some reason. I read a lot of sports books, and I read the various series as a small child: the *Bobbsey Twins* and that series, *Treasure Island*.

I recall an interest in newspapers, particularly in high school.

LaBerge: Would you discuss current events? I guess I'm thinking both at school and at home.

Cheit: At home, yes. My father was interested in the stock market. He lost his savings--a lot of money for those times--in the crash of 1929 and in the bank closing. He was very interested in the market. He was always interested in grain prices because that really dominated the consciousness of the farmers in the area.

LaBerge: How about politics?

Cheit: Yes, somewhat. We had in North Dakota at that time a kind of maverick state politics. I remember Wild Bill Langer, who was our long-time U.S. senator. I can't even remember--it was the Nonpartisan League or something like that. North Dakota had sort of maverick state politics. We were moderately interested in it, yes.

LaBerge: I think I interrupted you. You were going to say something else about maybe what your father was interested in or what--

Cheit: He was interested in world affairs and in politics. Our family was gravely concerned about the rise of Hitler and was very concerned about the people like Father Coughlin, who had a radio program that concerned them a lot. The interesting thing was the dynamic of living in a German community at the time of the rise of Hitler and then the war with Germany and being the only Jewish family in the community. It kind of played itself out in an interesting way.

My father was a very respected storekeeper, a merchant. I never felt anti-Semitism as a kid there. My sisters did. My oldest sister Inez, it bothered her a lot. She was a very sensitive young woman, and she would be needled and be called "Jew" and it bothered her a lot. I played a lot of sports and was captain of a basketball team and that sort of thing, so I don't recall a burden of anti-Semitism growing up there. Many of the German farmers used to refer to my father's store as "the Jew store." I asked my sister when I recently visited with her what spirit that was said in, and she said "Without any malice."

But there were clearly echoes of Hitler in the area. I don't recall it as a looming concern, but it was one to which we were sensitive.

LaBerge: Did you practice your religion?

Cheit: No. There was no opportunity. There was a synagogue in Ashley, a town thirty or thirty-five miles away. In the high holidays there would be a rabbi brought there or maybe he was there part of the year, and Jewish families would gather for the high holidays, but I as a child never had any religious instruction. I've always considered myself a Jew, certainly culturally, but not religiously. I've never practiced the religion, and my wife June grew up in a split between Catholic and Protestant parents and went to Sunday school. But I think today she's more Jewish than I am, actually.

LaBerge: So you didn't celebrate the Sabbath.

Cheit: No. But we didn't celebrate Christmas, to my great disappointment as a kid. We didn't have a Christmas tree.

LaBerge: Tell me about some of the family things that you did do. You were ten years younger than your oldest sister?

Cheit: Right.

LaBerge: So did you have family activities or was it all working in the store?

Cheit: The store dominated our life.

LaBerge: Your mother worked there too?

Cheit: Yes. And I did after school, and even as a very small child I helped in the store. I candled eggs when I was just a very small kid. We bought eggs from farmers and sold them to egg buyers that came around and took them to Aberdeen or to Bismarck. I would say responsibility for the store was really the dominant fact of our life. I don't think we ever took a family vacation; I don't remember one. My mother was asthmatic, and she at one point--or a couple of times--went to Duluth [Minnesota] because the purity of the air there gave her relief. There are some family pictures with my mother, and I'm standing with my mother next to Lake Superior. But it was not a vacation. I don't think the family ever went on vacation. Family recreation, to the extent that there was any, was this occasional visit to Zeeland. And there were some other friends we'd drive to, or people would visit us, but the store was the dominant fact of our life.

LaBerge: And you probably couldn't leave the store either.

Cheit: That's right.

LaBerge: You have to be open. Were you closed on Sundays?

Cheit: We were there until late Saturday night. We opened on Sunday after church, church services would be over around eleven o'clock, so we'd open the store and be open for a couple of hours.

LaBerge: As you grew up, what did your sisters do? I guess I'm trying to place the different kids.

Cheit: I'm the only one who went on to higher education. My oldest sister, Inez, did not go to high school in Hague. Hague didn't have a high school when she was ready to start. She went to Ellendale and then she went to Bismarck. Hague started a high school during that time and she came back, but she didn't want to stay because of anti-Semitism. She finished high school in Bismarck. She went to Minneapolis and worked as a secretary. When my grandfather on my mother's side died, that family moved to Minneapolis. We had other Minneapolis identification. On the radio, we listened to the Minnesota Gophers play football. One just assumed, when you thought about the big city, it was Minneapolis.

So my sister went to Minneapolis. She met her husband and was married there. She lived there until she died two years ago. Her husband is still alive.

My other sister, Audrey, went to Minneapolis to North High for a couple of years and then came back and graduated in Hague her last year. She went to Minneapolis after high school, and she went to business college--a kind of secretarial college, I think. And then she worked as a secretary. During the war she worked in Washington, D.C. Then she came back to Minneapolis where she worked, married, and raised a family. She went back to work in a school district until retirement as a secretary/administrator.

Responsibility as a Young Boy

LaBerge: Some of those years you were sort of an only child, so to speak.

Cheit: Right, I was. As I said, I think a key fact of my life is that I was on my own from a very young age. There was a period in which my father was ill, so that my mother and I--the store was really our responsibility. At an early age I had the responsibility in the winter to go down in the morning and start the fire in the store so it would be warm when customers came in. Then after school I'd go work in the store. My father either gave or thrust a lot of responsibility on us as kids.

In my case, for example, people who borrowed a lot of money--my father let people run up big bills during the Depression; he was kind of a softie. To work off a lot of that he bought cattle and put them on their farms on a split basis. That is, they pastured and took care of the cattle and then the cattle would be sold and there would be a fifty-fifty split of the profits.

One of the things I remember, the subject here being responsibility, I think I was fourteen when he sent me with a cattle train to St. Paul. That is, all his cattle were put in cattle cars in Hague and then the Milwaukee Road train went from Hague to Aberdeen to Minneapolis to the stockyards in St. Paul. There was a conductor/brakeman and myself. I took that train of cattle down, and I signed off as the responsible party. And then I remember I had to make my way from the St. Paul stockyards back to north Minneapolis where my aunt lived. That was kind of an adventure. At the time, I didn't think a lot about it. But when I think back now, in terms of having responsibility, that was a lot.

LaBerge: You might not give a fourteen-year-old boy that today [chuckles].

Cheit: That's right.

LaBerge: Any other examples like that?

Cheit: I would say most of the examples have to do with working in the store and being responsible for it. My mother was there, but there was a period in which my father was ill.

LaBerge: Do you know what the illness was?

Cheit: Yes, I do in part. He was a diabetic, and he had very serious diabetes and required insulin injections which my mother gave him. But there were times when he was really bedridden. We have speculated whether he was--in modern terms--in depression of some kind, because there were periods of time when he just couldn't get out of bed. During those times my mother worked in the store and I did. And of course my sister when she was there.

LaBerge: Did you do the books?

Cheit: No. That's very interesting. The answer is, he did the books. And he was very, very good at math. He was one of those people who could add a column of figures just by running down quickly like that. He did the books.

LaBerge: We didn't talk about that in high school. Did you have a good math background or not?

Cheit: I would say fair. I know we'll talk about the college years at another occasion, but when my mother died and my father sold the store and moved to Minneapolis--sold our house and sold all of our furnishings at an auction--he moved to Minneapolis and lived with his sister Bessie. I was alone in Hague and finished high school, and then when I came to Minneapolis--this is apropos of my math training--the University of Minnesota where I applied was open admission. Anybody could get in at that time. Certainly any Minnesotan or any North Dakotan who went to an accredited high school. But Hague High School was not, so I had to write a qualifying exam to get into the University of Minnesota, and I made it [chuckles]. I don't know how high the standards were, but this is apropos of your question about how good the math was--it was at least good enough to pass that test.

Mother's Death

LaBerge: What do you remember about World War II? Do you remember where you were on Pearl Harbor Day [December 7, 1941] and what the reaction of the community was?

Cheit: Oh, yes, I do. I remember exactly where I was on Pearl Harbor Day. I remember hearing the news on the radio in our house. I can remember where I was, yes. There was a very strong reaction and a very patriotic one. Among my memories of the war are rationing. One rationing memory I have is when my mother died--you'll recall I told you that she had gone to Minneapolis and she went by train because her mother was gravely ill and died, and my mother died a week later. My father then went immediately to Minneapolis by train. This was 1943. I then went to Minneapolis by car and another kid from high school went with me.

LaBerge: And you drove?

Cheit: Yes, we drove. And of course we didn't have enough ration stamps. The association here is World War II. People in Hague gave us their stamps so that I could buy gasoline to drive to Minneapolis and back. So the rationing is one of my memories for that reason.

LaBerge: That must have been a really hard time.

Cheit: It was a very bad time for me.

LaBerge: Did you consider going to Minneapolis with your dad then after that?

Cheit: We talked about it. Eventually, of course, I did. At the time it just seemed to make sense for me to finish high school in Hague.

LaBerge: And you had your friends.

Cheit: Right. And I was playing sports. So I stayed in Hague. It was kind of a lonesome time.

LaBerge: I'm sure it was. With the war too, were the boys in town signing up?

Cheit: Yes, they were indeed. This is anticipating something later, but I signed up as an air cadet. When you were sixteen you could become a cadet in the air corps, as it was called then--it wasn't yet the air force. But I didn't do that, I think, until I got to Minneapolis.

LaBerge: Going back to the car--was that unusual for you to have a car?

Cheit: No. I drove the family car, which was a 1940 or '41 Chevrolet at that time. I drove a great deal. I was a freshman in high school, probably, when my father bought me a 1929 Chevrolet

for fifty dollars, as I recall, which I then drove. But I had driven a lot. I mentioned I worked on farms.

Farmwork

LaBerge: So did you do that during high school?

Cheit: Yes. I worked on threshing crews. There were jobs on the farm that were available to me before that--maybe an eighth or ninth grader driving a tractor.

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LaBerge: You were helping the farmer with the binder.

Cheit: Well, he would run the binder and I would drive the tractor. And I worked on farms doing what was called "shocking" grain. Shocking was walking through the fields and lifting up these bundles and putting them into shocks so that the grain didn't rot. You'd stand them up in these bundles. Then in high school I worked on threshing crews.

LaBerge: Would that be at a certain time of year, the threshing crews?

Cheit: Yes. The threshing machine is another machine made obsolete by the combine. Farmers now have combines. One machine cuts the grain and separates it. With the threshing machine, you would go out to the field--and I did this mainly with teams of horses at that time--and with a fork you would toss the bundles up into the wagon [demonstrating]. Then you would take the wagon to the threshing machine, and then you would pitch the bundles onto a belt that went into the threshing machine.

We got paid by the bushel, and the threshing machine counted. Every time a bushel of grain went through the counter you'd hear a little ding, and we used to get either a half cent or a cent a bushel--I can't remember. So we much preferred to harvest oats because the size of the harvest was wonderful. In good soil you could get a hundred bushels to the acre of oats, whereas wheat--you were lucky if we got twenty-five to thirty bushels to the acre. Every farmer's dream, of course, was to get rich on flax, which was very, very chancy in North Dakota, both because of weather and disease. You'd run into this flax where you'd have seven bushels to the acre, or ten. It was bad for the farmer but it was also bad for the threshing crew.

Anyway, so I did a lot of driving. The association here was driving.

LaBerge: To get to the jobs.

Cheit: Right. And I drove farm machinery.

LaBerge: Did you continue to do that too then when you lived the last year on your own?

Cheit: Yes, but not very much then.

LaBerge: Were you doing the farming at the same time you were working in the store?

Cheit: Yes. My father told me I could work on farms, but he cautioned me "Don't quit."

LaBerge: This is sort of a precursor of all the balls you juggle now [laughter].

Cheit: Probably.

Early Influences

LaBerge: So not much farming when you were on your own. Is that because you were studying or—

Cheit: My mother died in 1943, and my father sold the store and the house that year. I think I worked on the farm that year, but then my last nine months I was alone--or maybe almost a year--in Hague, I think I worked only one job on the farm during that time.

LaBerge: What did you think as far as your future? Were you planning to go to school or were you going to work on a farm?

Cheit: That's interesting. My mother always said to me, "You're going to go to college. You're going to go to college." I didn't have a very well-formed notion of what college was. And I asked my sister when I visited with her recently, "Did they say that to you?" and she said no, that as the boy I was the one who was going to go to college. I sort of assumed I was going to go to college, but I hadn't really thought about it the way one thinks about that today. So when I graduated in Hague I then went to Minneapolis with my suitcases because my father was already living there, and I moved into a room with my Aunt Bessie, who was a widow. My father and I were rooming with my Aunt Bessie.

I didn't start the university right away. We're getting ahead of the story here. I applied to the *Minneapolis Tribune* for a job which interested me. As we'll see later in these conversations I went to work there.

LaBerge: Anything more on your growing up? How do you think that growing up influenced you later?

Cheit: Well, I think a lot, actually.

LaBerge: I mean, you've talked about the responsibility.

Cheit: I was given a lot of responsibility and I felt responsible for myself. We haven't talked about the Depression. The Depression was a big fact of our lives. We always had food on our table. We did not feel that we were in immediate economic danger in the Depression. My father's savings were wiped out, but we still had the store. We made a living. My father was always very conscious about money, and he was always worried about money. But we lived, by Hague standards, comfortably. I had a pony [chuckles].

LaBerge: And the family had a car.

Cheit: Yes. By Hague standards we were comfortable. By city standards we would have been marginal, I suppose. We never worried about the next meal or a roof over our heads. I had a horse that pastured right next to our house. I actually worked a little with my pony. Spunky was my pony's name. I used to help round up the neighbors' cows for milking.

The Depression was very significant.

LaBerge: It was something you lived through.

Cheit: The great traumas--you were asking about what shaped me--I suppose the Depression and the concern about survival or security, even though as I say we didn't feel immediately threatened. But it was always on our minds. In North Dakota we went through terrible dust storms and grasshopper plagues. People really grew up there with a sense of the need to go out and do it on your own. So I would say the things that shaped me were the Depression, the responsibility in the store, and then being on my own. Even though Hague was a very small town, the variety of my experience there--with the high school that I mentioned, working on farms--there was an interesting variety of experiences.

LaBerge: Any other people from your high school class go on to college?

Cheit: Yes, several of them did, in North Dakota mainly. One of them I know went to a teachers' college. I'd say two or three of them.

LaBerge: That's a lot out of nine.

Cheit: Yes.

LaBerge: For your father was education an important goal for you?

Cheit: I would say no. He wasn't negative about it. He thought maybe that he and I would go into some little business or something. No, it was my mother who--.

Dinner Table Talk and the Radio

LaBerge: [tape break] We're starting again to talk about the things that were talked about at the dinner table.

Cheit: My father talked about the stock market, and he always listened to a program broadcast from Chicago. My sister remembered it always began with the national anthem. She said that it gave the stock report and the grain report. Her recollection was that we did talk about politics at the dinner table.

LaBerge: Would your recollection be that you supported or didn't support FDR [President Franklin Delano Roosevelt] and the New Deal?

Cheit: He supported FDR. She said the store was our life [laughter].

LaBerge: Your same memory [chuckles].

Cheit: That's right. She recalled I was fourteen years old when I took the trainload of cattle. [looking at notes] The Order of St. Benedict--she wasn't sure whether it was 1939 or 1940 that the nuns came to the school.

LaBerge: Did she also have the nuns for her last year?

Cheit: No, she didn't because she had graduated before that. She came back for her last year of high school, but that was in 1939.

LaBerge: Do you remember any reaction in the community to the nuns taking over?

Cheit: Absolutely none. I think that people were glad that the school could stay open. They paid them, I'm sure, next to nothing, so they were able to operate the school.

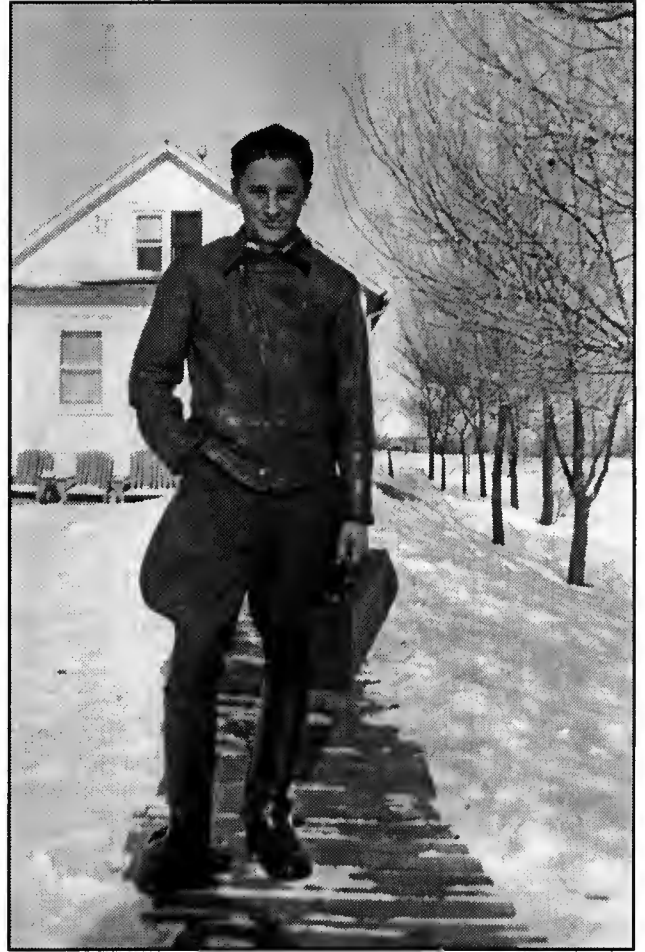
LaBerge: Do you remember listening to the radio as a child? I mean, did you have certain programs you listened to?

Cheit: Yes, I remember listening to Jack Benny, Jack Armstrong, the All American Boy, and Fibber McGee and Mollie.

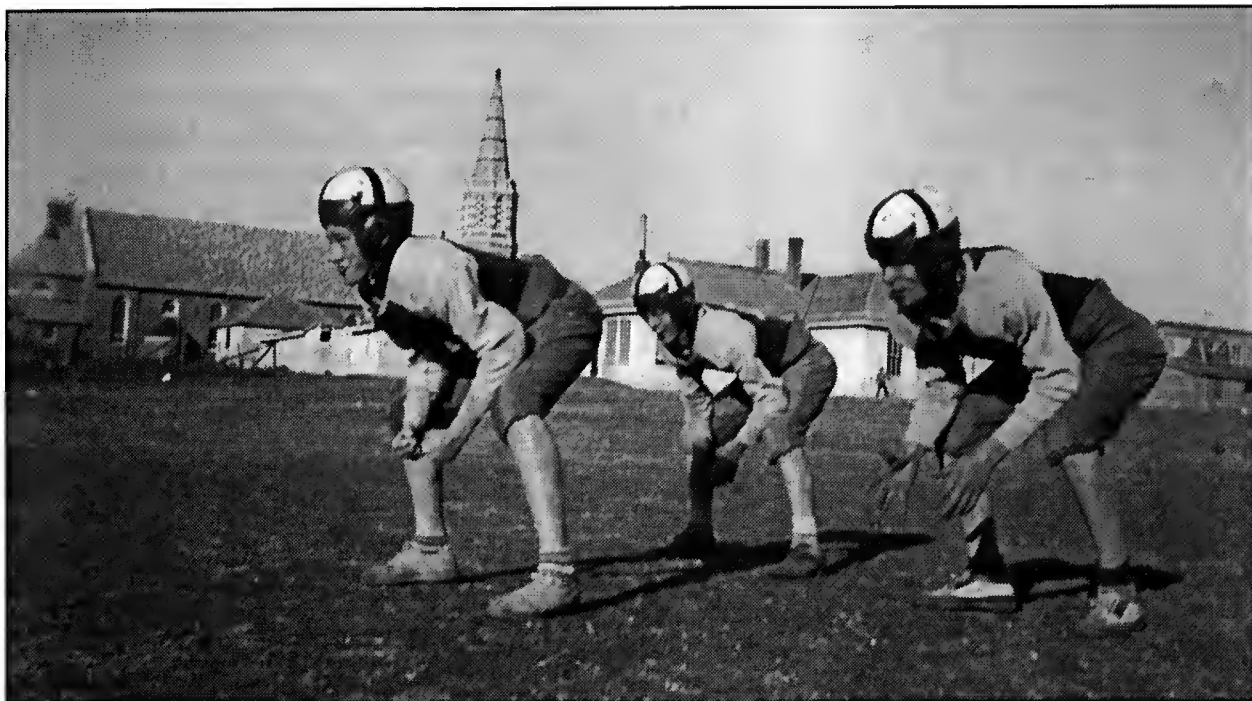
LaBerge: I think people in this day and age don't realize that was a big--that was something that people did.

Cheit: Oh, yes. The whole family gathered around the radio. And the news--we used to listen to the news.

I also ran binders [laughs]. Shoveled grain, among my jobs.



Earl (Buddy) Cheit at home, Hague, N.D., ca. 1939.



Earl Cheit (left), quarterback of Hague High School six-man football team, ca. 1942.

Finishing High School in Hague

[Interview 2: September 8, 1999] ##

LaBerge: Last time, we ended with you graduating from high school. We hadn't gotten you from Hague, North Dakota, to Minneapolis yet. So tell me how that came about. Or if you have something more to say on the high school graduation.

Cheit: I've now found my high school diploma. It says I graduated on May 24, 1944. I think I mentioned earlier that there were nine people in my graduating class, and now that I have the diploma, which has the names listed, there were eight in my graduating class. It was Mary Wolf who was number one.

As I think I mentioned last time, I was on my own in Hague. After my mother died in 1943, my father within a few months sold his store and house and moved to Minneapolis to live with his sister--my Aunt Bessie. I had two Aunt Bessies, but this was the older one, my father's sister. I stayed in Hague in a rented room and finished high school.

Then after high school--and I didn't have a car during that time. I think I mentioned that I had a car in high school, my 1929 Chevy. One day I was trying to pull a trailer of gravel with my 1929 Chevy, and I broke the rear axle. And that was the end of the 1929 Chevy. A farmer bought it, and he used the body for a chicken coop. The wheels and the frame, which he fixed, became a trailer. So I didn't have a car after that point.

When I finished high school in Hague I then took my belongings, of which I didn't have very many [laughs], and went to Minneapolis.

LaBerge: Before you go there, were you living with a family?

Cheit: Yes.

LaBerge: Do you want to say something about them or what your life was like?

Cheit: They were the Krumm family, and they had a large house, and they lived just about a block from where our family house was. They had an extra room, and they just rented the room to me.

LaBerge: Did you eat with them?

Cheit: Yes, I did. I ate with them, and I also for a while stayed with another family in town, the Schalls. I can't remember the reason now. But I stayed mostly with the Krumms. And that's how I lived. I walked to school; it was only a few blocks.

Move to Minneapolis, 1944

Cheit: So then when I finished high school I went to Minneapolis and joined my father. My father and I were staying with his sister, my aunt, at 1527 Oliver Avenue North in Minneapolis.

LaBerge: Had you applied to college? Or what were you going to do?

Cheit: No. I had two thoughts. One is that I thought maybe I would become a sports writer. I didn't have any idea what being a sports writer really meant. That led me to my first job, actually, which was with the *Minneapolis Tribune*. I got a job as a copy boy. It was my intention at some point to go to the University of Minnesota. All the people at the newspaper urged me not to think of this as a career, "It's a lousy career. Do something better; go to school," they said.

So I worked as a copy boy. It didn't pay very much, but I had a lot of fun. We were in Minneapolis recently, and I noted that one of the people who was around at that time--a man by the name of Sid Hartman--is now the editor of the sports page of what is now the *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*. The two papers combined. At that time he ran a bar right across the street from the newspaper, and I used to have to go out and get sandwiches and beer from his bar.

Air Cadet Enlisted Reserve, 1944

Cheit: Anyway, I also at this time--and I think I know the date--I joined the air cadets. I couldn't join the air corps because I wasn't old enough. But this cadet group--I think I have a piece of paper that says when I joined. Yes--I joined June 16, 1944, right after coming to Minneapolis.

LaBerge: Right after D-Day.

Cheit: Right. I joined the cadets. The cadets were to be called up when we were seventeen and a half, I think it was. But we trained--in the evenings I used to go to the Minneapolis armory and we marched. We didn't have uniforms. We learned some drills. But most importantly, we learned to identify airplanes. We had these manuals on how to identify planes from their profile. Then I got a better job at Fort Snelling, which was the military base in St. Paul. I was a mimeograph operator and typist.

LaBerge: I remember you told me you had taken typing.

Cheit: Yes, I took typing and I was actually quite good at it and still am, as a matter of fact.

Anyway, I was still in the air cadets. Here it is: air cadet enlisted reserve. That's what I was. I worked at Fort Snelling, and then I enrolled in the University of Minnesota and quit the Fort Snelling job.

LaBerge: Was it a matter of applying or--?

Cheit: I applied, and as I said before, I had to take an entrance exam. I entered in the fall quarter [looking at papers] of 1944. I started the University of Minnesota--let's just stay with my military career, because it was very brief.

I started the university and was called up to active duty. I have a certificate from the university that says I left "in good standing" on December 21, 1944, to enter the armed forces. I was actually called up on January 26, 1945, to active duty to enter the air corps. I was called in to Fort Snelling, to get my orders and then went to the reception center at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. There, we were put through a battery of tests. They were very rigorous tests for the air corps. I was there about four or five days, and I was told that I had an irregular heartbeat. They said that they wouldn't send me up in a plane with an irregular heartbeat. To my enormous disappointment I was given a medical discharge. So here I have in front of me my honorable discharge from the air corps enlisted reserve. I was discharged one week later.

Actually, the date on this discharge is March 12, but my discharge record says that I served one week. It says from January 25 when I was called up, to February 1, and then it says to March 12 when my actual discharge papers came through. But if you look at my enlisted record and report of separation--the certificate of service, it's called--it says "Total length of service: six days. Highest grade held: private." Here's a record I was given of travel pay to go back to Minneapolis: twenty-six dollars and fifteen cents. I was issued a ruptured duck, the lapel pin. My draft card said, "Discharged, classified 1-C."

Anyway, I came home, and of course my father was elated and I was in total despair. I really felt horrible.

LaBerge: The war was really over, but there was still--

Cheit: The war was winding down but VJ Day was still a half-year away and I wanted to serve my country. My father insisted I go to the university health service, where they gave me a whole battery of tests. What they told me was that kids my age sometimes had an irregular heartbeat, but they could find no systemic problem, and I should relax and forget about it. So there was nothing to do. My heart has seemed normal ever since, and maybe it was the stress. Anyway, that's my military career. I never wore my ruptured duck. I never called myself a veteran. That's the extent of my military service.

Then I came back and I was out of the service. I resumed my work at the University of Minnesota.

III UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, 1945-1954

Classes and Housing

LaBerge: You probably disrupted your studies.

Cheit: Yes, although I can't really remember whether I missed a quarter or not. I may have just resumed what I was doing.

LaBerge: Did you start off just taking general classes, or did you have it in mind what you wanted to do?

Cheit: I had in mind that I would become a dentist. I'm not sure how I got that idea. I was in the liberal arts college there, and I took the kinds of things that freshmen take, but I also signed up for a pre-dental curriculum which had physics and chemistry in it. I got mediocre grades in physics and chemistry and decided that this wasn't for me.

LaBerge: If I remember, you didn't take any science in high school. Certainly not labs.

Cheit: No labs.

LaBerge: So maybe it was your first experience.

Cheit: It may have been. You're generous to give that as an explanation. This list of my high school records that I have here--there's one thing called general science, and one unit of biology, but that's all. So no, I never had a lab. We didn't have a lab in Hague.

I was living in a room with my father and my aunt at Aunt Bessie's house and taking the streetcar to the campus. When it was nice I rode a bicycle. When I started the University of Minnesota, my father said he had some money to give me to go to the university, but that's all he had to get me launched in life. It was \$2,500. He gave me \$2,500 and he said that was it, that I should never look to him anymore for support because he couldn't afford it. He had lost most of what he had in the Great Depression and the bank closing.

When he sold the store--I never knew exactly how much he got for the store or the merchandise and the house, but it wasn't a huge amount, and he was living off of that. Then he went to work. He worked as a shipping clerk in Donaldson's store in Minneapolis. It was kind of a come-down for him to go from being a merchant, his own boss. I visited him a number of times at his work. He was in a back room where he cut cardboard and wrapped things. That's what he was doing.

But \$2,500 lasted me a long time.

LaBerge: That's a lot for those days, really. Isn't it?

Cheit: It was enough for me to get started in life. I paid all of my university expenses. I bought my bicycle. I used it for living costs and saved some of it.

Jobs; Pre-law Major and Law School

Cheit: I went to the University of Minnesota and I got a job. I always have had a job or more than one job. The first jobs I got at the university were of course in sports. Sports had always been a big part of my life. I got a job as a guard at Cook Hall where the football team's lockers were. It was the intercollegiate athletics building--also intramural. So I used to be the guard at the head of the stairs; I didn't let anybody down into the locker room when the football team was practicing because their valuables were in the locker room and I had the only key, on a big ring around my neck.

That lasted during the football season, and then I got a job from the intramural department being an intramural referee. I used to referee basketball and touch football games. I played some touch football.

I changed my major because I decided that pre-dentistry wasn't for me, and I switched to pre-law. I've tried to figure out why I did that, and I can't give you a very clear answer. I did have a brother-in-law who was a lawyer. He is now "of counsel," essentially retired. A very distinguished and very good lawyer. I admired him and still do, and it's quite possible that it was my admiration of him that led me to that. It was certainly not because I knew what lawyers did.

LaBerge: Was he in Minneapolis?

Cheit: Yes. He was practicing with a firm there called Leonard, Street and Deinard. He was a very able and respected lawyer.

So I went into pre-law. It was really quite interesting: English constitutional history and political science. Actually, it was my taking political science that led me to contact with [later

Senator and Vice President] Hubert Humphrey. Hubert was on the faculty, I think, either as a visitor or regular at Macalester College and was teaching a political science course in summer school at the University of Minnesota. I had a course with him. That's where I first met Hubert, and then later, as I will tell you, I became involved in his campaign for mayor.

I had other jobs, essentially because I was paying my way. I got a job in the botany greenhouse on campus, which was a lot of fun, actually--hauling dirt around and flowers. It was a laborer's job. Maybe I assisted someone who was a gardener. Then I got a better job in the bookstore. I did that for quite a while. Particularly they were swamped in the bookstore when the G.I.s came back under the G.I. Bill [Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944]. There was a huge enrollment crush at the university.

I got my bachelor of science in law; it's called a B.S.L.

LaBerge: Do they even give that anymore?

Cheit: I don't think so. I got the B.S.L. on August 28, 1947. The way the law curriculum worked, if you think about the University of California, here they admit you after you finish your undergraduate work, and it's a three-year curriculum. There, the law school was a four-year curriculum, but the pre-law was a two-year curriculum. So the total is actually six years and not seven. By doing it in the summer--I did a lot of course work in the summers--I finished in somewhat less than six years.

LaBerge: I wondered when I looked at the dates how you finished--

Cheit: It's by doing it in the summers. I looked up my--hanging in one of our basement rooms in an auspicious place [chuckles] are my various certificates. I got the L.L.B. on March 17, 1949.

LaBerge: I take it once you started in pre-law you decided you liked it.

Cheit: Yes. I enjoyed it, and I did reasonably well--well enough to be admitted to law school, although I suspect that the competition then was not anything like it is today. When I started law school I enjoyed it a lot. In law school a number of things happened that I think were important to my later life. One is that it's now 1945 or '46--let's see, I got the B.S.L. in '47--so I have now moved to the campus.

LaBerge: How did you decide to do that?

Cheit: I can't recall exactly when I moved, but it was probably when my father remarried. He bought a house in Minneapolis--on Oliver Avenue North. It was a small duplex. He rented out the upstairs. It was a modest house, and I stayed with my father and his new wife, sleeping on the living room couch [chuckles]. It was actually a day bed; it was kind of a little sun room off the living room where I slept. I paid room and board because I was really on my own. So I stayed there on the day bed, and for a while actually shared it with my stepbrother--my father's

new wife had a son, and he stayed with us for a while. I didn't have my own room, I didn't have a place for books or to study. I really wanted to get to the campus.

Minnesota Philosophical Society

Cheit: While I was in law school I became very interested in--and I took as part of pre-law some philosophy courses, and I became very interested in and joined the Minnesota Philosophical Society. It's very important sounding, but it was a wide open organization. There were two philosophy professors at Minnesota then, who both were very distinguished: Herbert Feigl, and the other was Wilfrid Sellers. Sellers and Feigl were the two big names.

I became interested in the philosophy department for another reason. As an undergraduate, I took a course in logic in the philosophy department. It had a big impact on me--not that I became logical, but I enjoyed it a lot.

LaBerge: It has a lot to do with law.

Cheit: Well, I think it has something to do with it, sure. And so I was interested in the philosophy department, and I used to go to the meetings of the Minnesota Philosophical Society. It was on the campus in Folwell Hall.

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LaBerge: So we're talking about the Minnesota Philosophical Society. Do you still have some of your philosophy books?

Cheit: I still have the book that was used in the logic class. And I still have a Feigl and Sellers book on modern philosophical analysis.

At the Minnesota Philosophical Society I made a lot of friends and met people, including Art [Arthur] Naftalin who later became mayor of Minneapolis. He was a graduate student, I think, in political science. He used to come because a lot of what they did was political philosophy and also some fairly rigorous philosophical debates between empiricists and rationalists. Is there a synthetic a priori? That was one of the big issues that used to be debated.

At the Minnesota Philosophical Society I met some people who were majors in English, and we became very good friends. I took a room with one of them. So I made the big move from my father's day bed to the campus.

LaBerge: In a rooming house?

Cheit: It was not an organized rooming house; it was kind of a dilapidated rental house in the section right next to the university which in Minneapolis is called Dinky Town. It's now becoming more gentrified, but this was a Bohemian area. The fellow I roomed with--Kingsley Widmer--became a professor at Reed and then at the University of California at San Diego [UCSD]. He was an English major. I haven't seen him in many years.

In that same house were a couple--a fellow by the name of Bill Coughland, who was a jazz drummer, and his wife Vera Mae. They were all English literature students. I spent a lot of time with them. We had a much wider circle of friends. There was a lot of discussion of poetry and literature, and they were all much more literate than I in the subject matter, but I was extremely interested in it.

In the meantime I'm now in law school and chugging ahead.

LaBerge: Still working at odd jobs?

Cheit: Yes, still working in odd jobs. One was at the general library, which was right across the street from the law school. I worked in the basement of the library for the League of Minnesota Municipalities. It was the place that did the research on ordinances and other aspects of municipal law. I was a mimeograph operator primarily, and I did some clerical work for them. It paid reasonably well.

Hubert Humphrey's Campaign for Mayor

Cheit: At the same time, through law school and through the Minnesota Philosophical Society, I met a group of politically active people in Minneapolis. I became quite active in Humphrey's first run for the mayor's job in Minneapolis, which he lost. He won the second time around. I campaigned for him. When I think about some of the methods we used it's so quaint, looking back. One of the things we did when Humphrey ran for mayor is--my coworker on some of this was Orville Freeman, who later became governor and then--wasn't he in the Kennedy cabinet or an undersecretary or secretary of agriculture?¹ I can't remember. He was ahead of me in law school.

Anyway, one of our tactics was to go into a large office building, like an insurance company. On the tenth floor there's a sea of desks, people processing claims. They used to give us a stack of ink blotters--an ink blotter about the size of an envelope, and it had "Humphrey for Mayor," and our job was to unobtrusively enter, slip into this place and then walk by every desk and put down an ink blotter. You would do it briskly because when a

¹Orville Freeman became Secretary of Agriculture in 1961; he served as governor of Minnesota from 1955-1961.

supervisor saw you, you would get hustled out. But people then used ink blotters, so it was a very inexpensive and good way to campaign—we worked the Minneapolis skyscrapers [chuckles]. There weren't that many skyscrapers. We also did this on street corners.

Humphrey's Human Relations Commission

Cheit: I did a lot of things for Humphrey, actually. When he became mayor one of the things he did was set up a human relations commission. Minneapolis had a very small population of blacks. Most of the blacks who migrated north went to the auto industry, went to Michigan or Chicago where there were jobs. Minnesota had a small population, but in Minneapolis there was a group that lived in public housing. And there was an Indian community in Minneapolis. Humphrey recruited a group of graduate students to go out, and we had a questionnaire and we went door-to-door trying to get a measure of people's living conditions and their attitudes and their feelings about the reality of their circumstances. He used that information to try to improve public housing and job opportunities. I did that kind of leg work for him.

In the process of doing that, I met a fellow who was a graduate student at the University of Minnesota, George Demetriou, who became Humphrey's chief of staff when he was mayor. Then when Humphrey went to the senate he went with him. George Demetriou had a younger brother, Milt. Milt and I decided to branch out and get a place to live. So we rented a room, a spacious room, above a drugstore which was right in the middle of Dinky Town. It was the busiest intersection of Dinky Town. So then Milt Demetriou and I had this room, and I lived there for a long time as a matter of fact. In law school—I'll come back to the Humphrey thing—I took another job as a waiter in a sorority house.

Waiter at Sigma Delta Tau; Busboy at University Hospital

Cheit: I was a waiter at the Sigma Delta Tau sorority. I used to get a freshly starched jacket and—

LaBerge: Food too?

Cheit: I only got one meal, but I didn't get to eat with the girls. I had to eat in the kitchen. They were waited on. I brought out dishes and I had to know over which shoulder to serve, and which side to take away. That was a very instructive experience. A lot of beautiful young women that I suppose I thought about a lot. It sort of opened my eyes up to class distinctions, because I couldn't really aspire to take out one of those girls because their boyfriends had cars and money, and I just didn't. Although I may have had some fantasies about these girls, the only contact I had was bringing their food and taking their dishes away.

On that subject, a friend of mine in law school, when he heard that I had this job said, "I can tell you where you can get a much better job," which was at the university hospital right on campus. He said that he was the chief busboy there and that he was about to graduate, and that I could get a busboy job there. You bused one meal and you got three meals. So I went over there and got the job and I quit the sorority. I bused dishes at the University of Minnesota hospital cafeteria.

It was a wonderful job. As you got seniority as a busboy and you worked your way up, you could get the best shift. The best shift was eleven o'clock at night when the night nurses and the staff came on. I worked my way up to the night shift. There weren't that many dishes to bus [laughter]. And the atmosphere was less frenzied.

I made some very interesting friends there. At that time the chief surgeon at Minnesota was considered the country's best. His name was Owen Wangenstein. I never knew him, but I knew some of his residents. At the time, he had three residents who always came in at night because they worked horrendous hours and they came in at night.

One of the residents was Christian Barnard, who later did the first heart transplant. The other one was Walt Lillehei, who just died, and who was the great transplant surgeon at Cornell. I just saw his obituary a couple of months ago. The third one was Norm Shumway, whose career just ended at Stanford. He was a great heart transplant surgeon. The three of them, and particularly Shumway, who was very irreverent, we used to have a lot of fun together horsing around. I think Shumway was probably my age, and the others were a few years older.

LaBerge: You had such a wide variety of friends and experiences. That's really amazing.

Cheit: I did, and I'll come back to Shumway in a minute. After Barnard went then to South Africa I never saw him again. We saw Walt Lillihei once because my wife dropped a milk bottle and cut herself and had to be rushed to the university hospital, and Lillihei was on emergency duty and sewed her up [laughter]. That was our only contact.

But I used to see Shumway occasionally. I'll say something more about Shumway in a little while.

A real eye-opener at the hospital was its rules. At that time both nurses and doctors ate in that cafeteria, but nurses could not join a table of doctors. Doctors could join a table of nurses [laughter]. Also, another rule at that time was that at an elevator, when you're standing waiting for the elevator and the doors open, the nurses waited until the doctors entered and then the nurses entered. I've asked people if that kind of protocol still exists--no, no, not in the hospitals--. But at that time that was the rule.

I met a lot of great people there, a lot of nurses that I had fun with. I did that job until I got married.

LaBerge: A lot of your education came outside the classroom, as it always does, I guess?

Research with Stefan Riesenfeld on Workmen's Compensation

Cheit: Some things are that way, yes.

Back to the law school. While I was in law school, one of my professors was Stefan Riesenfeld. He just died, as you know, at age ninety or ninety-one.

LaBerge: In fact, we were just going to start his oral history.

Cheit: Oh my, what a loss to oral history and to the world. I met Riesenfeld, and he even then was a legend. He was in the navy and he refused a commission. He was a radio repairman. Riesenfeld taught both in the law school and in engineering, where he taught a math class.

I took two or three courses from him, but the first I took from him was called Modern Social Legislation. That got me interested in what was then called workmen's compensation, which is now called workers' compensation. Riesenfeld had a grant--I think it was \$3,000--to do research in Minnesota on workers who were permanently and totally disabled to find out what their status was. I did the field work for him.

By this time I had saved enough money to buy a car. Through the state files I found all the people still living in Minnesota who were permanently and totally disabled and covered by the Minnesota workmen's compensation law. There weren't many--just eighteen cases. But I drove around the state and found these people. We had worked out a questionnaire. I got detailed information on them, and on fifty cases of severe permanent partial disability.

While I was doing that, I used the library and the resources of the Industrial Relations Center--the IRC--at the University of Minnesota. I got to know the people there. That was to have a major influence on my life. I finished this study, and it was an extremely satisfying piece of work because Riesenfeld took the findings to the state legislature and convinced them to liberalize the benefit structure for permanently and totally disabled people. He was so effective in his disarming way. He appeared to be disorganized, but he was just absolutely razor sharp.

Teaching Labor Law

Cheit: I did that work for Steve, and then I got to know the people at the Industrial Relations Center, and they realized that I had already taken labor law in the law school. There was a course in

the business school--the IRC was in the business school--in labor law in the summer, and they didn't have anyone to teach it. The person they wanted let them down. So they asked me if I would be willing to teach it, because I had had a labor law course in the law school and so I should be able to teach an upper division course. I said, "Sure."

I taught the labor law course, and I just loved the experience. Then the Industrial Relations Center asked me if I wanted to stay on and become a research assistant. And I did. So I was a research assistant, and from time to time an instructor. I taught labor law and I taught beginning industrial relations and personnel management classes in the business school. I was an instructor half-time. Oftentimes we were kind of the last minute fill-in. In the summer you'd wait until a week before summer school started and if they couldn't get some big name, in desperation they would hire the graduate students. That led to my connection with the business school. My last two years in law school, I was teaching or doing research in industrial relations and labor law.

LaBerge: Can we go back to when you started law school? What did you think you might be doing when you finished?

Cheit: I really didn't know.

LaBerge: You didn't have any field in mind?

Cheit: No. I didn't have my heart set on corporate law, or I didn't have my heart set, as young people in recent years have, on poverty law--if there was such then. I didn't have a field of practice in mind.

LaBerge: But the great thing is that you were open then to whatever.

Cheit: That's right. I was given an opportunity to teach at some point--and I can't tell you exactly when, but it was probably in 1948 or early '49--I decided that I really wanted to become an academic. I wasn't a research assistant in the law school ever, and I wasn't on the law review. My grades weren't good enough for that. My grades were decent, but I was nowhere near the top of my class.

Ph.D. Dissertation on Incentive Effects of Workmen's Compensation Benefits

Cheit: Anyway, after discussion with some faculty in the economics department I decided to apply to the graduate school in economics. I set up a major of economics and a minor in law. Riesenfeld was one of my advisers--my minor adviser. I did my dissertation on economics applied to workers' compensation.

Just to finish this out, my dissertation was a really well-devised study. One of the big arguments against liberalizing benefits to people who were injured on the job is that it caused "malingering." That is, if the benefits were high enough people wouldn't go back to work. So I came up with the idea of getting as many cases as possible of the identical injury, and I took loss of the index finger. I went through all the cases I could going back a fairly large number of years in Minnesota. Then the same thing in Wisconsin, which had a wage structure comparable to Minnesota's but benefits quite a bit higher, because Wisconsin had this socialist tradition and had much more liberal social legislation.

So here I had two identical samples of people. I had one group of people for whom the workers' compensation system provided a larger share of their lost wages than it did for the other. So the question was, what were the benefit effects on recovery? It's the malingering hypothesis. What my data showed was that there was absolutely no correlation. The findings demolished the argument that higher benefits to people who were seriously injured causes malingering.

This study played a big part in my life because my dissertation came from my contact with Riesenfeld in the law school, and the teaching was from my contact that started with Riesenfeld but led to the business school.

LaBerge: Had you written this before he went to the legislature and got the law--

Cheit: Oh, yes. This was a separate study. The one I mentioned earlier I had done a year or a year and a half before. I took a class from him and got interested in this. No, that was a smaller study, and those were permanent total [disabilities]. Those were people in absolute desperate circumstances and documented it with names and data. That's what he went to the legislature with. The purpose of the dissertation was to test the general contention that benefits influence the severity rates of workmen's compensation cases.

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Cheit: So Riesenfeld was very much in my life. And for another reason that I'll jump ahead for a moment, after I got married the first place we lived in was a basement apartment out in the country. But the second place we lived in was in a place called Prospect Park right on the border between Minneapolis and St. Paul. A lot of faculty members lived there. Our across-the-street neighbor was none other than Steve Riesenfeld.

LaBerge: It's making it sound like Minnesota is a small world [laughter].

Cheit: So I knew Steve as a neighbor.

More on Law School and Influences

LaBerge: Any other influential people in law school like that? I can tell this is major and it really changed your direction.

Cheit: Steve was probably the biggest influence on me for reasons just mentioned. Other influences on me in law school were some of my classmates. In my class were the Fraser brothers, Don and Mac Fraser, whose father was dean of the law school. He is the Fraser who is the great authority on property law, who came out to Hastings College of the Law when he retired from Minnesota.

Mac is Don's older brother. Don then became a congressman from Minnesota, and then later when he left the Congress he became mayor of Minneapolis--as did Art Naftalin, by the way [chuckles]. He and others got me involved--as did Milt Demetriou--in the [Harry S.] Truman campaign [for president]. I was very active. I took a hard look at Henry Wallace and much preferred Truman. We worked like crazy doing precinct work in the Truman campaign.

I would say some of my classmates had an influence on me. There were some wonderful instructors: [William L.] Prosser on Torts--

LaBerge: Prosser was there?

Cheit: Prosser was there, and then he later came to Hastings. I took Torts from Prosser. There were some wonderful professors. But I would say the influences perhaps on me came increasingly from economics and business where I was spending more time.

I finished law school, I graduated with an L.L.B.--they don't give that anymore; they now call it the J.D.--on March 17, 1949. I got a piece of paper some years ago saying that if I send twenty dollars they would send me a J.D. instead of my L.L.B. I never bothered to do it [laughter] because I had no use for it but someone did it for me as a gift.

LaBerge: And then did you go on to take the bar exam?

Cheit: Yes, right away. In those days they didn't have these bar review courses like they do now. I just went to the library and studied eight hours a day. I took the bar exam and passed it, and I was admitted on June 30, 1949.

By this time I had already decided to become a Ph.D. candidate. I was now teaching and doing research--I can't remember whether I taught every semester, but I was officially an instructor. I was also a GRA--graduate research assistant--some of the time. I guess it was 1949 when I started seriously my Ph.D. work.

LaBerge: Any reaction from your dad or your family, you pursuing--

Cheit: My father, I think, didn't understand it very well. He only went to the second grade, as he always said. I think he sort of admired me. When I graduated from law school he gave me a fountain pen, which I still have. He was furious with me because he didn't see me at the ceremony. There were a couple hundred of us who marched across the stage and he didn't see me, and he thought I had played hooky [laughter] because I had planned not to go to graduation, thinking it didn't mean a lot.

I suppose he was proud in a way, but later after I finished my Ph.D. when I was going out on the job market, he asked, "Why do you have to leave here?" They had an anti-inbreeding policy at Minnesota, and I wasn't offered anything there and I had no expectation. But he was disappointed that I would leave. You do all this work and then you have to leave? "Why don't you stay here and maybe we could go into business together?" he said to me. He understood it at some level, and I'm sure he was proud at some level, but I don't think he understood it well.

Meeting June Andrews at the IRC

Cheit: So now I'm in the Ph.D. program. My Ph.D. advisor was the director of the Industrial Relations Center, a man named Dale Yoder. There I met his executive secretary, the woman who ran his office, her name was June Andrews. We just celebrated our forty-ninth wedding anniversary week before last [laughter].

LaBerge: Was she also a student?

Cheit: She had finished her bachelor's degree, and in one of these coincidences--when I looked up these dates, we came to realize that she and I started the University of Minnesota the same time in 1944. We didn't know each other, of course. Before entering the university, she went to work in a drugstore. She was a soda jerk. We tried to explain to our grandchildren what that means [laughter]. She worked in a drugstore in a rough neighborhood called Seven Corners, which is in a lousy part of town. Later she worked at a draft board and saved enough money over the summer and in the fall to enter the university. The tuition fees then were something like forty-five dollars. We both benefitted enormously from a land-grant university.

LaBerge: You wrote about that later, too.

Cheit: Yes. And as events would have it, she realized when I told her I got my B.S.L. on August 20, 1947, she was at that graduation.

LaBerge: Isn't that amazing?

Cheit: I got to know her, and the first time we ever went anywhere together there was an IRC Halloween costume party. All the graduate students and faculty were there. I was at that time busing dishes, and I went to my friend Norm Shumway and I said to him, "We're about the

same size. Why don't you let me have one of your outfits?" So I wore Norm Shumway's outfit, his white jacket and instead of a stethoscope I wore a plunger [laughter] hanging from a cord around my neck for my stethoscope. And that was the first time she and I went out together.

LaBerge: What did she wear?

Cheit: Something from Mexico. I think she wore a shawl. She had bicycled through Mexico with a youth hostel group in the summer of 1949. She was in her Mexican period then, so I think she was wearing an embroidered blouse and skirt.

Marriage in Rapid City, South Dakota, 1950

Cheit: We were married on August 28, 1950.

LaBerge: So not long after--

Cheit: Well, it was about a year or maybe a little less. We were married August 28, 1950. That date--we were married then because I was teaching summer school and we couldn't get married until I had graded my blue books. I finished my classes, read the blue books, and then we went off and got married by a judge in Rapid City, South Dakota.

LaBerge: Is there a reason you went there?

Cheit: Yes. I had a cousin who lived in Dupree, South Dakota. My cousin, whose name was Adolph Silverman, and his wife Lucille--in high school I sometimes visited them for a vacation. I would go to Dupree for a week and stay with them. He was not only related to me but we were good friends. I liked them and admired them a lot. Adolph sold farm implements and cars in Dupree, South Dakota. By the time I was nearing the end of law school I bought a car from him. I didn't just buy a car, I bought a brand-new Plymouth convertible. He sold it to me at dealer's cost. At that time dealers made a 24 percent margin on cars; I think it's about half that these days, according to *Consumer Reports*. I had a brand-new 1949 Plymouth convertible. That was before I came Berkeley and banished red from my wardrobe [laughter]. It was fire engine red.

So we had a car to go to South Dakota in. He and Lucille were our witnesses. We were married by a judge in Rapid City.

LaBerge: What was June's background? She was with the Industrial Relations Center--did she major in that?

Cheit: No. June majored in American studies. The leader of American studies at Minnesota was Henry Nash Smith, who later came out here, as you know, and had a very illustrious career here in the English department.

Trip to New York City, 1946

[Interview 3: September 22, 1999] ##

Trying to Sell Cartoons to *Look*

LaBerge: When we finished last time you had just gotten married.

Cheit: But I want to backtrack. There are some things that I had forgotten about. In 1946, I believe, I hitchhiked to New York. I hitchhiked with a man named Sam Hardin. He was quite a character. I think at one time he was part owner of the Shakespeare bookstore on Telegraph Avenue. I don't have contact with him. I met Sam through this group of Bohemian types--Kingsley Widmer, who I mentioned was my roommate.

LaBerge: So Sam was also at the University of Minnesota?

Cheit: Yes.

LaBerge: And this was your philosophy club?

Cheit: Well, I don't know if that's where I met him. Sam and I became pretty good friends, and we decided to hitchhike to New York. We had two very specific reasons for going to New York. One was we were going to stay with his brother, Buddy Hardin, whose real first name I don't recall. He was a gifted pianist, a child prodigy indeed, and whose studies were interrupted by World War II. He was in New York studying under Rudolf Serkin. So you can imagine he was a pretty advanced student. He had an apartment and he had enough room for us, so we were going to stay with him.

Our second reason for going to New York was that while I worked at the *Minneapolis Star* and the *Tribune* I got to know the managing editor. At that time, the Minneapolis papers were owned by the Cowles family. They also owned *Look* magazine. This editor went from the Minneapolis papers to *Look* magazine as the managing editor.

Sam and I had met a young woman, a student, who was a pretty good cartoonist. I can't remember where we met her, and I can't remember her name. But Sam and I thought we had a great sense of humor, so we asked her if she would go into business with us--if we would think up the jokes and she would make a drawing. We did about a half a dozen of these. Our

idea was to take them to New York to see if we could sell them to *Look* magazine. I still have some of those cartoons somewhere. It was while I was searching for those cartoons that I found this map of Hague that I told you about. I think somewhere in my boxes of files are those cartoons.

So Sam and I hitchhiked from Minneapolis to New York. It was a wonderful experience for me; I had never been east of the Mississippi River. We made it all the way to Scranton, Pennsylvania, and then we took a bus. We had an incident in Scranton, Pennsylvania, and we decided we should take the bus.

We got to New York quite late at night, and so we slept in Penn Station. They let you do that then, although we were roused in the morning by a gentle nightstick about five-thirty or six a.m. We then got in touch with Buddy, who lived on the lower east side on a fifth floor cold-water walkup. We stayed there. It was a real introduction to what those sort of slum apartments looked like. The bathtub had a porcelain top on it, and that was the kitchen table. The toilet just sat there out in the open, so you had a room that functioned as a kitchen-bathroom. When you used the tub you took the porcelain tabletop off and took a bath.

Music World of New York

Cheit: There were two students of Serkin's at that time. The other was Eugene Istomin. Eugene Istomin, as you know, is very famous on the concert stage today. Eugene Istomin's father was a waiter in a Hungarian restaurant in New York. They lived in a fairly decent apartment on the west side.

LaBerge: You got to see that?

Cheit: I didn't get to see the apartment. I used to see Istomin a lot. We never went to their apartment but it was described to me by Buddy.

We went to some parties with them, and with people in the music scene in New York. One of the people there was Leonard Bernstein.

Buddy was working on the *Emperor*--Beethoven's Fifth Piano Concerto. He used to practice eight hours a day. I know that piano concerto fairly well [chuckles]. Anyway, Buddy didn't make it to the concert stage. Buddy went to Columbia Medical School later, and I think he became a surgeon. But I haven't had any contact with him.

When we went to *Look* magazine we got an appointment, the editor recognized my name. We told him why we were there. I think we had six or eight of these cartoons. He looked at them and looked at them and laughed. Either he really liked them or he put on an act for us. But he said that he just couldn't use them, that he was sorry to disappoint us. So that part of

the trip was not a success, although it was a lesson in selling, and we brought our cartoons back.

LaBerge: And that was in the summer, like a vacation?

Cheit: Right, it was in the summer.

Earl Cheit, Musician and Conductor

LaBerge: Because you brought up music, I understand that you are a musician of sorts.

Cheit: That's precisely put [chuckles].

LaBerge: Tell me about that, how you learned and--

Cheit: I play the cornet. I started in high school, and I played in our high school band. Since you know the size of our high school, I think there were something like seven or eight people in our band. It was really a ragtag affair. Then I played the trumpet, but I later switched to the cornet.

LaBerge: Who taught you? Just someone at school?

Cheit: Yes. I can't even remember who it was now, but I learned to play the trumpet then. I kept it up a little bit. When I worked out at Fort Snelling they had a terrific dance band, and I sat in with them, but I wasn't up to their level. They read very complicated charts. That helped me learn how little I really knew about sophisticated arranged dance music.

I played a little bit in Minneapolis. I had a friend who played the piano, and we would go over to the music building and kind of jam together. But I really became more active when I moved out here. In Minneapolis we had a lot of musician friends. There was a great Dixieland cornetist in Minneapolis called Doc Evans, just recently deceased. June and I used to go to his concerts at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis, and he played in various joints that we used to go to.

I used to sit in with some people from time to time, but it wasn't until I came out here in 1957 when the director of the Institute of Industrial Relations, Art Ross, who was studying the banjo, wanted to form a Dixieland band. We had a wonderful trombone player in the institute, a man by the name of John Hutchinson, for whom Nancy [Fujita Nakayama] worked. He had played trombone in the U.K. and was a very good Dixieland trombone player. So I started working on my horn. By this time I had switched to the cornet because that's more of a Dixieland horn; it has a softer sound. We put together a Dixieland band. We used to practice at Art Ross' house out in Lafayette, and we used to call ourselves the East Lafayette March

and Funeral Band. There was a fourth faculty member who joined us, Mort Gordon, who was director of University Extension. He was a terrific jazz player who hated Dixieland, but the only way he could play with somebody was to play Dixieland with us [chuckles].

But then we had two or three people who sat in with us. We had a fine clarinet player, a man by the name of Doc Patterson, who was a dentist on Telegraph Avenue. From time to time we had a judge from Oakland [Judge Kroninger] who played a bass horn. A very well-known judge, now deceased. We had a businessman, Bob Ulch, who played drums and was a manager of sales for Cutter Lab. And we had a string bass player who sat in with us from time to time, a man by the name of Red Honoré, who was a professional musician. We became fairly good.

And there were two other professional musicians who used to sit in with us: a man by the name of Red Gillam, a professional musician who played piano and trumpet. And a trombone player would sit in with us from time to time. He still plays in the Bay Area, Bob Mielke. He's the fellow who used to have the Dixieland band out at the Oakland A's games. His brother was the CEO of PG&E [Pacific Gas and Electric].

Not everybody came all the time, but we used to play a lot, and we started playing for fundraisers. We had a rule that it was only booze for the band. That's all we required--no money. The rule was each person could choose a fundraiser. Bob Ulch, I think, chose his daughter's sorority. So we played in a sorority house. John Hutchinson, who was a liberal Democrat, chose an ADA fundraiser [Americans for Democratic Action]. Ulch, being a conservative Republican, had to swallow that. We played a lot for the Children's Hospital of the East Bay.

At first our wives came and looked at us admiringly, and then they would skip now and then, and eventually it became work [laughter]. We changed the name of the group to the Faculty Dixieland Band. When Glenn Seaborg became chancellor he had a ceremony on Dwinelle Plaza, and we were invited to play. I'll never forget that--I used to remind Glenn about that because after we played he took the microphone and said, "Thank you very much, I think." [laughter]

We used to play around campus. Do you know Van Kennedy and his wife Beth?

LaBerge: No.

Cheit: They live in Kensington. The two of them were very big supporters of the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee. It was a very important group for civil rights, educating people who wouldn't have access to the kind of training. We used to play every year at a Highlander Folk School benefit.

Eventually people drifted away, and a couple people became ill and died. We played on the streets of Berkeley at Christmastime. In fact, I've got a wonderful photograph of the four

of us playing Christmas carols on the streets of Berkeley. I still have my horn. I haven't played it in a long time.

The only other episode that's kind of interesting is that once somebody gave us money. We didn't want money, but somebody sent us a check for playing. It wasn't trivial either. I've forgotten now what it was--maybe a thousand dollars. They sent it to John Hutchinson. We decided to spend it on a party. We rented a boat and we went to a bar here on College Avenue that has a small piano, a fifty-five-key piano. I think it's McNally's bar. He let us use it, and we took it on this boat. I think it was a fifty-foot boat. We strapped it down [chuckles]. The Blue Fish was the name of the boat. We stocked up with food; there were two skippers who did the cooking. The band sat in the back and we played. We steamed up the Delta. It was two days. We spent the money on the boat and the steaks and the booze. It was a riotous time.

LaBerge: And this was just the guys?

Cheit: Just the guys, yes. We went up the Delta, and somewhere in the Delta--I can't remember the port now--there was a big party going on in the boat club. So we stopped and brought our horns up to the party and we sat in. They had some sort of stodgy band, and our Dixieland band was absolutely a knockout [laughter]. We played there until we were woozy from the late hour and from drinking. Then we slept it out on the boat. Our skipper had breakfast for us. That's how we spent the only fee we ever got. That's the answer to your question about my musical period of playing Dixieland cornet.

LaBerge: It's just another facet of your life and also your interest in music.

Cheit: When we moved to Berkeley we joined the Unitarian Fellowship at Berkeley. They wanted to start a youth orchestra, particularly to play during the holiday season. So I became the conductor of that youth orchestra. Many of those kids--they ranged from little kids to faculty members. We had a lot of little kids, many of whom read music better than I did [laughter]. That was a nice family orchestra. We were really pretty good. We used to rehearse a lot.

Our older son, David, is a very good horn player.

LaBerge: I was going to ask if any of your children were in this band.

Cheit: Our daughter Wendy was a clarinet player in that family orchestra.



Faculty Dixieland band performing at holiday fundraiser, ca. 1962, John Hutchinson and Earl Cheit.

Anecdote about Eugene Istomin

Cheit: While we're talking about music--this doesn't have to be so linear, does it?

LaBerge: No, it doesn't, because that's what we're talking about and you're remembering it.

Cheit: Well, there's a connection between Eugene Istomin. I mentioned that he was the other person studying under Serkin at that time. We've gone to his concerts because he is on the concert tour around the U.S. When we come to this part of the story, my family will move with me to New York in 1971 or '72, I think, when I went to the Ford Foundation. We'll have a lot to say about that, but Istomin is the connection here.

When I went to the Ford Foundation we lived in Westport, Connecticut, for a very specific reason, and that is that it had a good debate program, and we had a high school senior who was debating. But then after the year was up my family was ready to move back, but Ford asked me to stay on. Indeed, they had asked me to stay permanently, which after a lot of hemming and hawing I decided not to do. But then they asked if I would stay on long enough until they could find a successor. They wanted me to help them find a successor, which I did; it took about six months. We had given up our house on Thomas Road in Westport, Connecticut, so the deal they made with me is they would put me up in an apartment in New York and I could fly home every second weekend. I said okay.

They put me up in a nifty apartment at 65th and Park at the Mayfair Hotel. I bring it up now because at one point the penthouse in the Mayfair Hotel was sold to Eugene Istomin [laughter]. He moved into the penthouse, and for all I know still lives there at the Mayfair Hotel. That's my connection with Eugene Istomin.

LaBerge: It's amazing the people that you met who later became famous, including yourself--they probably are saying that about you [laughter].

Cheit: Well, at any rate, that was our hitchhiking to New York--Sam Hardin and myself.

More on Ph.D. Program in Economics

Cheit: Now if we want to go back to Minnesota, there are some other things to say about that Minnesota period. I think I had mentioned earlier that I entered the Ph.D. program in economics, and my minor was law, and the graduate school permitted that.

LaBerge: I didn't realize in a Ph.D. you had a minor also.

Cheit: You could then at Minnesota. The person from your minor field sat in on your oral examination and submitted a question for your written. We had both writtens and orals. That's where my link to Steve Riesenfeld was so important.

When I entered the graduate school at the University of Minnesota in economics, which was in the school of business--by the way, the dean of the school of business was a fine man named Richard Kozelka. I was thinking about one of my professors in the law school, Maynard Pirsig, whose son later became very famous by writing *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*. If you read that book, he stops in Hague at one point on his travels [laughs]. But he only has about one sentence; there was nothing to Hague, as you just saw from the picture [chuckles]. It's not a place where you would spend a lot of time.

Teaching Duties as a Graduate Student ##

Cheit: While I was working on my Ph.D., I had mentioned earlier that I was busing dishes at the university hospital and did that up until the time I got married. And I was teaching. By now, I taught fairly regularly.

LaBerge: What classes did you teach?

Cheit: I taught labor law and I taught the beginning industrial relations course. Those are the two basic courses that I offered. I did some other teaching for the University Extension. This is moonlighting to make money. They wanted to open a branch in Duluth. I volunteered to teach in Duluth.

LaBerge: How far was that?

Cheit: It's maybe 150 miles or so. It's almost straight north of Minneapolis. I used to take the train most frequently. You get on the train and you would end up at Duluth. In Duluth I used to teach two courses. There I taught beginning industrial relations, but I also taught leadership and personnel management. My students were ironworkers, many of them--at that time steel was still pretty important up on the iron range up there. I would teach management to foremen.

I came back on a sleeper. You'd get on the sleeper; you'd have dinner and ride home. It was only a few hours, but you could sleep in the morning; they'd leave the sleeper on a siding in the station and you could get most of a night's sleep. Sometimes I would drive, and my recollection is about two and a half hours. I haven't driven it in a long time. I used to drive up and drive back, sometimes the same night after a class. You could do that when you were very young.

More on Wedding and Honeymoon, 1950

Cheit: So I taught in Duluth. In the meantime, in 1950 June and I got married in South Dakota; I think I mentioned that.

LaBerge: With your cousin--

Cheit: That's right, Adolph Silverman and his wife Lucille were our witnesses. I was teaching labor law in summer school and we couldn't leave until I graded the blue books. We had our honeymoon in the Black Hills of South Dakota. June had never been out there before, and I knew that area. My cousin lived in Dupree, and we stayed with them for a couple of days. We had to have a blood test, and the blood had to be analyzed before we could be married. So we stayed in Dupree. We had the blood test in Pierre on the way out and then we stayed in Dupree until the results were okay, and then we got married in Rapid City by a judge to whom I had written in advance. It was the first wedding he had ever performed, and he was quite nervous. This was August 28, 1950.

June sent our announcements out. There's a little town near Dupree whose name is Faith. Faith, South Dakota. She wanted the Faith postmark on the envelopes [chuckles].

When we came back from our honeymoon in the Black Hills, I was driving the car that I bought with money from these various jobs and things that I had done. Another thing I had done to earn money is I practiced law. I was now working on a Ph.D., but I wrote wills for several of my business school faculty colleagues. I adopted a child for a client. I did this out of my home. In fact, at that time the IBM Selectric typewriter had just become available, and you could type something that looked like a printed letterhead. I can remember my "stationery," that it was typed on the Selectric [laughter].

Practicing Law: Adoption, Debt Collection, and Other Cases

Cheit: Anyway, I had some interesting cases--at least moderately interesting. This adoption was instructive in that my advisor, as I mentioned to you, was my brother-in-law, who coached me and told me what to do. He said that when you adopt a child it's very straightforward, but just be sure that the child is there at the hearing. The couple were missionaries, and you can't imagine more straightforward, religious, upright people, and they just adored this child, of course. So I filed all the papers and on the morning of the hearing I went to their house to pick them up to come to the court, and they came out without the child. I said, "Where's the child?" She says, "He's got a cold; I can't take him out." I said, "Look, you've got to have the child here." She said, "I will not take the child out of the house with his cold." So I debated and I thought, "Well, I'll take a chance."

I brought them in and we waited until we came up on the docket. These are fairly routine things. There were half a dozen people in the courtroom when we came up. I introduced the couple and I said what upstanding wonderful parents they were. We had the report of the social worker and the adoption agency. Everything was in order, and the judge says, "Where's the child?" I said, "Well, your honor, the child isn't feeling well." And the judge said to me, "How long have you been practicing law, counselor?" [laughter] I said, "Just a short while." He excoriated me for wasting his time. But he granted the adoption. He said, "I've never done this before, but these people are so upstanding and the reports from the social workers are so outstanding that I will do it. But don't you ever appear before me in this circumstance." I said, "Yes, your honor." [laughter] I slunk out of the courtroom, but we did get the child adopted.

Among my cases, I had the sort of small things that come to you when you practice law the way I did. I had a couple of small criminal cases. In one case I went to the district attorney because friends of ours had built a garage, and the contractor didn't pay his subs, and one sub obtained a lien. Here these people had paid for the garage and suddenly there's a lien on their house. I tried to collect the money and couldn't, and I went to the district attorney and filed a complaint. The district attorney then filed criminal charges. This guy was picked up by the police. He was arrested and brought in to jail. I remember it was a holiday weekend. At five a.m. our phone rang and here it was the guy in jail. He used his only phone call to call me. He said, "Please get me out. I'll pay, I'll pay. Just get me out of this. I've got six children, and I have work to do." I said, "I'll see what I can do."

I went to my brother-in-law, my advisor [chuckles], and he said, "You can't use the criminal process to collect debts. They get mad as hell." So I went to the district attorney--actually it was the city attorney and said, "It's a holiday weekend, he'll produce a certified check to pay." He said, "We're not a collection agency. I will not dismiss the case. If you want to go in front of the judge to dismiss this case, go ahead, but I'm not going to do it." So I went in front of the judge.

LaBerge: Same judge?

Cheit: No, no, thank goodness. I went in front of this municipal judge and I said to him that he's going to pay it, so then the judge gave me a lecture. He said, "How long have you been practicing law?" [laughter]

LaBerge: No wonder you went into teaching!

Cheit: He said, "You can't use the mechanism of the criminal law to collect debts. We don't have debtors' prison. What he did was a crime, and you can't make good a crime by paying it off." But the judge was a softie. He said to me, "Does he have a family?" I said, "Yes," whatever number of children. And he said, "All right. *This* time, but don't you appear before me under these circumstances again." [laughter] And he let the guy out, and he produced a certified check--or his wife did--and that was one of my criminal cases.

I had one triumphant case and one kind of messy case that I'll tell you about. My triumphant case involved snowplows and it involved Adolph Silverman, my cousin who stood up for us at our wedding. He bought \$10,000 worth of snowplows, the kind that people could use in their driveways. They weren't delivered, and they weren't delivered, and they weren't delivered. Adolph couldn't get them to deliver or give him his money back, and he couldn't find out why they weren't delivering. So I filed suit. I didn't go ask them to pay; I filed a fraud case against these guys. They really stood up and took notice. In one meeting with them they came up with the \$10,000. He got his money back.

I sent the \$10,000 to Adolph and he said, "What's your fee?" And I said normally a contingent fee is one-third. He said okay, and he sent me a check for one-third. That \$3,333 kept us going for about a year. It was a huge fee.

There was one other case that I might mention. I did maybe six divorce cases, and they were fairly routine. In Minnesota then there was no such thing as "no fault" divorce. Minnesota in those days required--there were three grounds: cruel and inhuman treatment, infidelity, and desertion. But all of the cases used to be cruel and inhuman treatment. While I was working on studying German for my Ph.D., there was a fellow in my German class who was an O.B. resident at the university hospital. He too was working on a doctorate; he already was an M.D., and he needed to have German. When he learned that I was a graduate student working on my Ph.D., he asked what I was doing to support myself. I said I was teaching and practicing law. He said, "Do you want a divorce case?" I said, "Oh, yes." He said, "I was delivering a baby for a woman who's the wife of a faculty member, and she went into hysterics because she just learned that her husband had fathered a child by somebody else and she wants a divorce."

I went to see her and filed the divorce from her husband who was an instructor at the University of Minnesota, and was very well connected politically. His lawyer was in the most political law firm in town. He came out to my house at 45 Melbourne to see me. He later moved to Miami, and he was the guy who created the Miami Stadium. The Miami Stadium is the Joe Robbie, Jr., Stadium where the Miami Dolphins play. He came to see me and he said, "If you bring this case, my client is Greek and he is here on a visa, and this will be moral turpitude. He'll lose his job and he'll be deported. He was connected in the Greek underground and the Greek government will kill him, so you can't bring this case."

LaBerge: Had you already filed the papers?

Cheit: Yes. Then the next thing is the couple appeared jointly. They said they wanted a divorce, they wouldn't contest it, and asked if I could drop that part of the allegation and just say that he called her bad names and so on.

I went to see my advisor [laughter]. He said, "Gee, you're going to have to modify the complaint. You're getting into dangerous ground now. He ought to stick with his lawyer, and she stick with you. This is going to lead to trouble." I tried to figure out what to do--to protect this fellow or not. Of course June was advising me to protect the woman. I decided to plow

ahead. She got her divorce. We did not modify the grounds. He left the University of Minnesota shortly thereafter. But he wasn't deported; he got a job in Illinois teaching at a state college. He never paid my fee. The court used to assess the fee.

LaBerge: Was the wife Greek also?

Cheit: No, she was an apple-cheeked naive American girl who fell for this guy.

LaBerge: I'm so glad you brought that up because I didn't know enough to ask you whether you ever practiced law.

Cheit: Most of my practice was wills, divorces, a little bit of criminal law. Oh, I conveyed some property; it isn't too hard to do property conveyance. But that's how I supported my family as an instructor and teaching assistant--I was getting something like \$135 a month, which was worth more than it is today. Still, it wasn't enough.

In the meantime we were starting a family. Two of our children were born in Minneapolis. Our first child, Wendy, was born July 23, 1951. Our second child, David, was born April 18, 1953.

LaBerge: So you were still a graduate student.

Cheit: Yes. June didn't work after we had--that is, she didn't work outside the home, as we say [laughter]. She stayed home and raised the children.

Labor Arbitration and Consultation

Cheit: The other thing I did to support my family is labor arbitration. Now it's very hard to break into labor arbitration, because when people choose someone to arbitrate, they always want someone who has already arbitrated. But my advisor at Minnesota, the head of the Industrial Relations Center, a man by the name of Dale Yoder--very generous man for helping young people get started--was an experienced labor arbitrator. He asked me if I had ever done any labor arbitration. I said no, and he asked if I would like to, and I said yes.

He had an arbitration scheduled and on the day of the hearing he said he was indisposed. He called the parties and said he had a graduate student who's a lawyer and who teaches labor law. They said, "All right; it's a small case." That's how I got my first case. He just did it as a favor for me.

LaBerge: Did you have any training as to how to do it?

Cheit: I knew labor law, and I had often wanted to do labor arbitration, that kind of dispute settlement. And in the labor law course we used to teach about arbitration and mediation. So I had sort of a fumbling grasp of it.

I went out and did the arbitration and wrote a decision. It was a very small matter; it was about whether someone was entitled to overtime under the contract. Very soon I got called back.

I started doing labor arbitration, and I did quite a bit. I continued to do labor arbitration until 1965 when I became vice chancellor [at UC Berkeley].

LaBerge: So it transfers state to state.

Cheit: Yes, it does transfer state to state. I did labor arbitration in Minnesota, I did a lot of small labor cases. Minnesota had an emergency dispute settlement act for hospitals, and I once was appointed by the state of Minnesota for dispute settlement in a hospital strike by nurses. I became a permanent umpire in dispute settlement at a company called Electric Machinery Company in Minneapolis, where I used to do not only their regular grievances, but under a complex mechanism, wage disputes, which is rare. So by the time I left Minnesota we bought another car--we were not only able to pay the rent but to live.

Then I did one other thing. Because of my knowledge of workers' compensation--and I really was getting pretty good at it, and my dissertation took me to Wisconsin because my dissertation compares Minnesota and Wisconsin cases--a group of employers in Wisconsin hired me to represent them in the rate setting process for workers' compensation insurance in Wisconsin. I started learning more and more about workers' compensation insurance which all employers are required to buy. The rates are set different ways in different states, but they're set under a very complex formula by a quasi-public agency.

These employers felt that they were paying too much for their workers' comp, but they didn't have the expertise to challenge it. So I represented them to try to keep their insurance rates down. That was a consulting relationship, and I used to fly to Milwaukee, Wisconsin. I got to know all those great German restaurants like Mader's and Schraeder's and others. Anyway, there was lots of good German food. I maintained that consulting relationship until about 1958. I did it from California for a while, but then it became too burdensome. I guess that in all I did it for maybe eight years or so. Sometimes those people would meet up in northern Wisconsin; that's where I learned about a fish boil. Do you know what a fish boil is?

LaBerge: No.

Cheit: It's wonderful. Way up in the northeast, in Door County, wonderful resort country, there's a local dish where they put fish into a big boiling pot and it simmers until the right--

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LaBerge: Okay, you pour kerosene on the fire.

Cheit: And then the fire roars up and then all the scales and bones and stuff--particularly the scales--all boil off. All of this goes over the top, and then you douse the fire and scoop out the fish. It's delicious.

Anyway, that's where I learned about a fish boil because sometimes they would meet in northern Wisconsin.

More on Jobs

Cheit: So those are the jobs that I had in graduate school, and I was all the while busing dishes until we were married in 1950. Then I did my dissertation and I taught.

LaBerge: Can I ask you something about the teaching? I remember you were saying that you were at the Industrial Relations Center and they just needed somebody to teach labor law. How did you learn how to teach?

Cheit: I guess by doing it. I had had by that time a lot of instructors. Students become expert consumers, so I guess I had a sense of what good teaching was. But then I just did it and I really enjoyed it. It was good enough, so they asked me to continue.

Among other things in Minnesota, we went to the football games. We used to go to the stadium. Bernie Bierman was the great coach then, and Minnesota had successful football teams. Indeed, in our senior year--that is, in my fourth year there and June's fourth year--Leo Nomellini, the great lineman who later played for the 49ers, played for Minnesota, and Bud Grant who later became coach of the Vikings, and Paul Giel, the great half-back. When we lived in Prospect Park we used to sit in the stadium and freeze with lots of snow. Stadium boots really meant something there, you know.

I just was looking at my notes here on the kind of cases--I also did some drunk driving cases for some friends. Those are losing causes, you know. We were once at a party and the wife of a friend of ours was picked up for drunk driving, going home. She called me from the jail, and so I represented her and gave her side of the story. In those days they didn't have breath tests but the officer observed how you were driving and how your breath smelled. After I presented her case and the officer said his case, the judge said to me, "Officer O'Toole has been on the force for eighteen years. He has come before me hundreds of times. I have never known him to tell a set of facts that weren't exactly as they occurred. Guilty." [laughter] You cannot win those cases. I did a couple of those.

Permanent Arbitrator for Electric Machinery Company

Cheit: I became known in the industrial relations community in the Twin Cities, and when I was finishing my Ph.D. there were two things that occurred that were very interesting points in my life. One is I mentioned to you that I had this permanent arbitrator's job in the electrical industry, and I got to know very well, a man by the name of Harry Leonard--the business agent for an electrical union. He and I became good friends.

LaBerge: This is while you're representing the employer.

Cheit: No, the labor arbitrator is in the middle.

LaBerge: It's not when you were employed by the Electric Machinery Company.

Cheit: I was employed by the union and the management to be an impartial umpire. He was head of the IBEW [International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers], and he tried to persuade me that my future should be with the electrical workers union. He wanted me to learn to be an electrical worker and he would take me along as an assistant business agent, and that when he retired I could become business agent of that union. It was a very high compliment because he was an extremely ethical man. That was my entreaty to go to work in the labor movement, which I had thought about but never considered seriously.

But I then had an offer from Minneapolis Honeywell, a very large employer in Minneapolis--from the vice president of labor relations to become an assistant to him in doing labor relations. I can't remember now what the pay was, but it was an astronomical sum. It might have been \$12,000 or \$15,000 a year. It was really huge money, at least twice an academic salary. I thought about it a long time because the implication was that I would move up and maybe replace him at some point. That was really kind of a turning point as to whether I would stick with my academic path or go into industry. June and I discussed this at length. Her advice was to stay in academic life. I decided to stay in the academy.

Decision to Stay in Academe

Cheit: An interesting question, I guess, is why I decided not to go into industry. I think it was the same reason that I really didn't consider going into the electrical workers union. I really wanted to be an academic. I think it's the same reason I later turned down the Ford Foundation, to stay here, even though the blandishments were very attractive.

LaBerge: Because of both teaching and research?

Cheit: Both. I really enjoy doing academic work, having the independence and the intellectual stimulation. Working with students is a joy. So then I went out on the labor market. It was a lean year. I had three serious propositions: one was from the State University of New York [SUNY] at Buffalo, one was from North Carolina State, and the other one was St. Louis University. The teaching loads were similar, and so was the quality of the institutions.

Accepting Offer from St. Louis University

Cheit: I went to St. Louis University because it was the highest offer: \$6,000 a year, which was pretty good at that time. I finished my dissertation, handed it in, didn't stay for commencement--I can't remember when the commencement was. We went off to start a life in St. Louis.

LaBerge: In those job decisions, is that something you and your wife talked about?

Cheit: Oh, yes. A lot.

My father could not understand why I had to leave. "You spent all this time getting a Ph.D. Aren't you good enough for the university to keep you here?" The answer was no. They don't hire their own. It's the anti-inbreeding rule. He never fully understood it. He wondered if I didn't want to stay and go in some kind of business with him. "How about starting a shoe store?" It was very dear of him. But the difference, I suppose--it may be that my own kids today feel the gap between their lives and mine is so great that I really can't understand what they're doing. I of course don't think so [laughter], but I suspect they may think that. Clearly the gap between his understanding and what I was doing was just too big.

LaBerge: What about your wife's family? Were they still in Minneapolis?

Cheit: Yes, my wife's mother and father and sister. My wife's sister had cerebral palsy and she was confined to a wheelchair. She was a very courageous woman who went on to become a Lutheran minister. Her own situation is a long story in itself. But yes, they were in Minneapolis.

LaBerge: So this was a really big decision.

Cheit: Yes, it really was. And when we drove down to look around--St. Louis is about 600 miles or so from Minneapolis--it was hot, housing was difficult. \$6,000 sounded like a huge amount of money when we weren't looking for housing [chuckles]. But when we went to look for housing we discovered that it wasn't so much money. Anyway, we made the move.

IV ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, 1954-1957

[Interview 4: November 23, 1999] ##

Interview and Employment Form

LaBerge: Okay, when we ended last time you had just taken the job at St. Louis [University].

Cheit: Right.

LaBerge: And I think you told me you had a couple of other offers?

Cheit: That's right, I did. One was from the State University of New York at Buffalo, and the other was from North Carolina State. But I didn't consider either of those seriously because the St. Louis offer paid more money. I can't remember now what the differential was. It was probably five hundred dollars or a thousand dollars. But it was a lot of money. And so I chose St. Louis.

I don't recall from our last session whether I told you, but St. Louis University is a Jesuit institution, and as you know well, I'm not Catholic. When they first contacted me, it never came up, and then when I had an interview with the dean of the School of Commerce and Finance, Steve Vasquez--he didn't raise it.

LaBerge: He was not a Jesuit?

Cheit: No, he was not. And I liked him, and I liked what I saw. And then they sent me a form, an employment form. It had in it "Religion"--have I discussed this?

LaBerge: No, no.

Cheit: I don't think I did. The form said "Religion" and "Be specific." And it said, "What church do you go to?" I thought this was a test, so I just took a red pencil, and I made an X through those questions, and I responded to everything else. I got an offer by telegram two days later. I liked that. And so we decided to go to St. Louis.

As I said earlier, I was the only non-Catholic in our Hague school for much of the time. And I went to church with friends, many more times than I went to a synagogue because there wasn't a synagogue. A classmate of mine recently sent me some material on the hundredth anniversary of the St. Mary's Church, the parish in Hague.

At any rate, I felt quite comfortable taking the job, and liked it very much. We had at that time two children, Wendy and David. We got in our Mercury station wagon and drove to St. Louis with our earthly goods, of which we didn't have very much. We actually moved--they paid some moving expenses.

LaBerge: So that you could send--

Cheit: Whatever we had then.

Neighborhoods of St. Louis

LaBerge: Had you gone on ahead to find housing and things like that?

Cheit: June and I went down alone to find housing, and we found a rental that we could afford, upstairs in a duplex at 1138 North and South Road. I still remember that place. Actually, for the three years we were in St. Louis, we lived in three different locations because we then rented a second house, the lower part of a duplex--[laughter]--a larger house on--I remember the street there, Concordia Lane. It's a dead-end street, so it was a very good street for kids. By now we had our third child, Ross. And then we bought a house. We bought a house on Melrose Avenue in University City, also a part of St. Louis. The university refers to Washington University, not St. Louis.

LaBerge: Thinking that you were going to stay for a while?

Cheit: Yes, oh, yes. We bought a house for \$17,000. A two-story, four-bedroom brick house. I imagine everyone who has his first mortgage has a sleepless night of "how am I ever going to be able to pay this?" I've forgotten whether it was 10 or 15 percent down.

School of Commerce and Finance: Teaching and Collegiality

LaBerge: Tell me what you were going to be teaching.

Cheit: Well, I was in the economics department, which was in the School of Commerce and Finance. I was offered quite a range of courses and I taught what I wanted to. I taught the introductory

course in industrial relations, labor economics, labor law, and I taught occasionally in the evening--in the university's very popular evening program. McDonnell Aircraft was very big in St. Louis, and there were thousands of engineers who wanted to study business, many of them to work on a master's or on a certificate.

LaBerge: Was St. Louis University all male then?

Cheit: No. I ended up really liking that place. I went there with an open mind and enjoyed it a lot. It's the lesser of the two universities. Washington University has a lot more cachet and has more money, a gorgeous campus. St. Louis University is a very urban campus. And when I was there the area around it was in terrible decay. We've been back--in fact, we were back a year or two ago to see it, and they built up a lot. It really looks a lot better around the campus. There's some revitalization and economic renewal happening.

But I really came to have a lot of feeling for that place. The association you triggered was women. St. Louis University broke the color line in St. Louis. St. Louis, as you know, was a border city during the Great Divide [Civil War] in this country. They were the first to break the color line. This was long before I came there. But I really admired their attitudes about race, and so yes, there were women there.

LaBerge: What about the collegiality and people you met?

Cheit: It was excellent, at a couple of levels. One was my immediate colleagues--there were nine of us in the economics department--and they were really very interesting. Different ages and one woman. There were a couple of people like myself, who were very young and just starting out, and there were some very senior people. We were kind of thrust together at St. Louis University, but faculty members lived all over, and indeed, once June and I had kind of a pot-luck dinner for the department. For a lot of them, it was the first time they had ever been together at a dinner like this. But it was a very good place socially. During the day I enjoyed them a lot. I played handball with some of them.

The first year after I was there, two people came from the University of Minnesota.

LaBerge: Did you help to recruit them?

Cheit: Well, I encouraged them to come, but I didn't make the initial contact. One of them was a man who was recruited as chair of the department, a man by the name of Joe McKenna, a very good economist. And then the other person who came was a fellow who was my office mate in graduate school at the University of Minnesota, Alek Rosenthal. Alek was also a very good economist.

I said on two levels. The other level was I got to know a lot of the Jesuits who were in the administration. I played handball with a couple of them. I got to know the president, who's now the chancellor, a kind of an honorary job. Father Reinhardt is still around; Father Marquetti, who I think went on to become president of Catholic University; and a couple of

others--oh, and Father Brown, Leo Brown, who was one of the nation's leading labor arbitrators, was in our department.

So yes, it was a good collegial place. And it was a good place to me. They sent me to conferences, they promoted me to associate professor with tenure after I was there only two years. They promoted me to associate professor in 1956. They were very responsive to me and obviously wanted to keep me.

LaBerge: And you bought a house.

Cheit: That's right, yes.

The students were on a par with the students at University of Minnesota.

LaBerge: Did you teach both undergrad and graduate students?

Cheit: Yes, but mainly undergrad. The graduate program was very small.

LaBerge: I don't know if we discussed this before, but how did you decide to teach economics rather than law? And I realize you were teaching labor law.

Cheit: I was teaching labor law. Well, my Ph.D. is in economics, and labor economics and industrial relations interested me. Over the years, as time went on, I became more interested in the institutional aspects of the labor economics and industrial relations and sort of drifted away from the labor economics--at least the theoretical aspects of labor economics. But early on I enjoyed teaching it and getting students to understand it.

And labor law always interested me. I always taught a course in labor law. When I came to Berkeley, I taught labor law a few times.

Book Reviews for *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

LaBerge: Last time I think we talked about other things you were doing in addition, like doing arbitration and the decertification of the Teamsters.

Cheit: Well, yes, that--

LaBerge: Do you want to go into that now, or do you have some other things--

Cheit: Well, there are a couple of other things. Let me talk about other things that I was doing.

LaBerge: Okay.

Cheit: We liked the community, and I became involved in the community in two ways. First, I met Irving Dilliard, who was the editor of the editorial page of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. We used to see each other once in a while for lunch. He was a powerful journalist, a man whom I really admired. He at one point asked me if I would be interested in reviewing business books for the *Post-Dispatch*. I said yes.

So they would send me books. They never put any pressure on me; I could decide whether I wanted to review them or not. But I guess I got easily a book a week or so that they would send me. I looked through the biographical statements, and I realized that the first one I filled out for the University of California said that I had reviewed twenty-two books for them, which suggests that maybe I was reviewing every five or six weeks or so.

They started to put my reviews on the editorial page, right under a Fitzpatrick cartoon. He was a very good cartoonist. And so I really got read because people always looked at his cartoon, and I think their eye sort of fell on my reviews.

Anyway, that was a lot of fun, and it introduced me to the world of popular writing about business. I used to joke that I was probably the only person who ever read Conrad Hilton's autobiography--[laughter]--from beginning to end. I did, and reviewed it. He comments--I'll always remember this--his separation or his divorce from Zsa Zsa Gabor cost him exactly the same amount as the Sir Francis Drake Hotel, bought here in San Francisco. I concluded that he felt that he had gotten a much better deal with the hotel.

LaBerge: [laughs]

Labor Arbitration

Cheit: The other thing I did--not a lot of but some--in the community was labor arbitration. I think I mentioned earlier I started doing labor arbitration when I was a graduate student at the University of Minnesota. And I was a member of the American Arbitration Association and I had a little bit of a record. In those days some arbitration decisions were published. There was a loose-leaf labor service. I think the BNA, the Bureau of National Affairs, which is a private organization, used to publish--if you submitted your decisions and it was on an interesting point, they'd publish them.

I had some decisions published. I was eager to have them published so people would know me. I had the cases--you know, when you're an outsider, new and young, the cases that you get are not the huge cases. They're not very precedent-setting cases. They're often somebody who was fired because the employer claims they were an incompetent employee, and they claim that they were fired because they were friendly to the union or they were union organizers--a typical kind of case.

And then there are minor cases: the people who claim that they were being cheated out of their overtime. I did cases at that level.

Decertification Case

Cheit: It was because I had a little bit of a reputation as an arbitrator that I had a call from a lawyer who asked me if I would supervise an election. I said sure I would; tell me about the election. He explained to me that he and the counsel for a taxicab company in St. Louis had agreed to set up a procedure to determine whether or not the employees of this taxicab company wanted to continue their union affiliation.

Now, there is in labor law something called a decertification procedure. I asked why the NLRB [National Labor Relations Board] wasn't involved here. The lawyer pointed out to me, in the [President Dwight D.] Eisenhower administration, a lot of things that had been earlier declared to be interstate commerce were said now to be intrastate commerce; that is, the definitions of interstate commerce were tightened up. And so this cab company, whose employees originally went through an NLRB proceeding, were no longer eligible because they were now ruled to be intrastate commerce.

Missouri at that time had no labor legislation that provided for a way of determining a bargaining unit in a company that was in intrastate commerce, so they were asking me to run a private election for a cab company--all of whose drivers were black.

LaBerge: And how about the owners?

Cheit: Well, I never met the owners, so I don't know. And I never knew anything about them. But on the appointed day, I was told that they'd pick me up and take me to the location of the election. They rented a little candy storefront, a building that was maybe twice the size of this faculty office. I came down there, and they had a table set up; they had polling places that were private; and they had ballots which I inspected; and they had a table. It was very orderly. There were a couple of people standing around. There had been an announcement that the election--the polls would be open at about ten o'clock, and then people started coming in and voting.

The polls had been open for maybe a half hour or so when a police car drove up, and four policemen got out and came in, and patted down and took the guy who had been standing around--I didn't know what his role was--because he was carrying a gun. They took him away. This was a slightly unnerving experience. The lawyer who had asked me to do this came over and said to me, "That was your bodyguard." [laughter]

At this point, I became slightly alarmed. But he said, "Don't worry. We've got other people around here." That was really the first time I realized how someone like myself could

be so naive to get into a situation as fraught with danger. These drivers wanted to decertify and get out of the Teamsters. They wanted their own union. If someone knew the nuances here, it may be, as the Teamsters later alleged, they were being manipulated. You know, this was a company union they were voting for. It may not have been in their best interest. That may or may not have been the case. One would have to know the history of the relationship, about which I knew nothing.

It may be that the people who wanted to do this were right, that [the] Teamsters Union was exploiting them and wasn't looking out for their interests.

LaBerge: But you didn't know any of the history.

Cheit: I knew none of it.

LaBerge: You were just there to watch.

Cheit: I was there to run the election, to keep it honest. So I was really scared. I asked that a policeman be stationed nearby. They called. A policeman came and patrolled around there. There was no other incident. The voting went on till about eight o'clock at night. Then we took the ballots to the company office to count them. That office was on the street and had big windows in the front. We were sitting at a table, and I observed the counting. There were maybe a half a dozen people observing. There were only two people counting the ballots.

Outside that glass was a sea of faces watching what was happening. We were being observed. Anyway, the ballot came out--if not unanimous, it was overwhelmingly in favor of decertification. And so I signed the piece of paper that said what the results were, and then these people whisked me out into a car and over to my car, and then I drove home.

In the days following that election, a couple of taxicabs of that company were bombed.

LaBerge: What was this, '54?

Cheit: It was not the first year I was there. It was probably late '55 or early '56. This incident became a footnote in one of the [Estes] Kefauver hearings into violence in the Teamsters Union.

##

LaBerge: Who was president of the Teamsters then? Do you remember?

Cheit: No, I don't, but it was probably [James] Hoffa.

LaBerge: I can't remember, either.

Cheit: You asked about my other activities. The main thing I did when I was in St. Louis was I realized that this was a second-tier institution and that if I was ever going to get an offer from a first-tier institution, I had to write my way out of it.

Textbook Publication and Articles on Workers' Compensation

LaBerge: Write as in research and publish?

Cheit: Yes. And so I did a lot of work. Two of my former teachers at the University of Minnesota invited me to join them in writing a textbook. Textbook writing doesn't get you any points in a good university, but I was interested in it and wrote my third of a textbook that had a long run. My two co-authors—Arthur Williams and John Turnbull—are both now deceased. They offered to list our names alphabetically. And I said, no, it was their idea, their structure, so the book is Turnbull, Williams and Cheit. This is a fourth edition. [showing textbook] There were five editions, revised. The book is entitled *Economic and Social Security*.

It was *the* book in the field for many years.

LaBerge: This one [the fourth edition] is 1973.

Cheit: Yes. But that wasn't the last one. We revised it one more time. Our last (fifth) edition was published in 1982. What was the first edition?

LaBerge: It says '57.

Cheit: I wrote about workmen's compensation, labor standards, minimum wages, poverty. My dissertation, as you know, was in that field, and I had done that work with Riesenfeld.

I was interested in social legislation, and as I tell graduate students, your dissertation ought to be the launching pad for more research and articles. In my case, it was. I really wrote quite a bit.

LaBerge: Some of that's in your bio-bib.

Cheit: It is, yes. But just to pick out a couple of examples, I was invited by a congressional committee to testify on how radiation hazards ought to be handled under workers' comp. There are very tricky issues there: the disability doesn't reveal itself for a long time, how do you determine causation, what should the limitations be.

I did an article on radiation hazards. Workers' compensation is a state form of social insurance, and there was an effort to have a model national bill. I wrote about the model bill. I probably wrote another half a dozen articles, some of which involved a great deal of

research. The reason I bring it up is that it was that writing about workers' compensation that brought me to California.

Offer from UC Berkeley

LaBerge: Okay. Because people read it and noticed?

Cheit: Yes. I got a phone call one evening from a former professor of mine at Minnesota, who was now chairman of the Department of Economics here at Berkeley, Andreas Papandreou.

LaBerge: Oh! From Greece?

Cheit: No. From Berkeley. Andy called and said that he had been talking with Arthur Ross, head of the Institute of Industrial Relations here, and the institute had received a grant, a very substantial grant, to do a study of occupational disability in California. They were looking for someone to head up that research, and that they had read work I had published on this subject and wanted to know if I was interested in coming to California.

Neither June nor I had ever been to California. I had never been west of the Grand Canyon. Well, I'll finish this part of the story and then finish up St. Louis. I met Art Ross at a meeting of the American Economic Association. We had a long interview, and then we had an exchange of correspondence. They offered me a job to head up this study, a three-year study, and they offered me a three-year contract as a visiting associate professor of economics and research economist in the Institute of Industrial Relations.

LaBerge: In 1960?

Cheit: No. 1957.

LaBerge: But this wasn't giving you any security, really.

Cheit: Three years. So the issue was, do I give up a tenure job, do we move? We had just bought a house and had spent \$600 remodeling it, which for us was an *enormous* amount of money. We really sweated the decision, but in the end decided to accept the job.

LaBerge: Was your father still alive in Minnesota?

Cheit: No, he had now died. This was now late '56, and I think he died in [he riffles through papers]-he died in '55.

LaBerge: Because I remember that he didn't really want you to move to St. Louis.

Cheit: That's right.

LaBerge: And California was certainly farther. Did you come out and visit?

Cheit: No.

LaBerge: So sight unseen.

Cheit: Sight unseen, that's right. I finished the academic year at St. Louis--and they were very nice. They hated to lose me. And indeed, although they couldn't make any guarantees, they said, you know, anytime I wanted to come back I was welcome, and I felt I was.

Tiers in Academic Labor Market

LaBerge: So what turned the tide for you to make the decision?

Cheit: When I tell people that I really had a hard time choosing between St. Louis University and Berkeley, they think I'm crazy. But, of course, it wasn't a permanent job at Berkeley. I think what turned the tide was my feeling that I wanted to be at a first-rate university. Fairly or unfairly I had felt that it was a step down for me to go from the University of Minnesota to St. Louis University.

LaBerge: Right.

Cheit: St. Louis University didn't have the size, the resources, the graduate students--although, as I said, the undergraduates were good. There's an interesting book by a sociologist at the University of Minnesota on the academic labor market, by Ted Caplow, I think. He may have had a co-author, but Caplow was the guy.¹ What Caplow did was to study movement of people, and what he shows is that it's very easy to go from a first-tier place to a second-tier place to a third-tier place, but it's almost impossible to go from a second- or third-tier place to a first-tier place. Now, that's an old piece of work. The labor market may have changed. I don't think it's changed that much. And so when you have an opportunity like I did and you want to be in a different level of institution, then you accept it, even though it's risky.

I'd been working hard to try to create options for myself. I think I could have stayed happily at St. Louis University for a long time. But I didn't want to get into a situation where I was ten years older, was busy doing outside things, not doing scholarship, and really kind of

¹Theodore Caplow and Reece J. McGee, *The Academic Marketplace* (New York: Basic Books, 1958.)

settling into a career where I'd be just a teacher and an arbitrator. I would have had a good income, but a different career.

I really wanted a career that involved research and writing. I think that was really the basis for my decision making. I think it's fair to say—I think June would substantiate this—I worked very hard when I was at St. Louis University--both to do a good job teaching but also at my research and writing.

LaBerge: When I look at everything you did in three years, plus I know you have three children, I don't know how you did it.

Cheit: It was a busy time.

LaBerge: Reading the books for the book reviews and--

Cheit: Yes. So at any rate, that takes us en route to California, [which] we had never seen before.

More on St. Louis

Cheit: As to going back to St. Louis--well, ask me anything else you want to ask me about St. Louis.

LaBerge: I read that you were a consultant for industrial and union groups? I'm sure I picked that up from a bio. What union groups?

Cheit: Well, I did more of that out here than in St. Louis. I was a consultant--I did something for a small company in St. Louis that makes ketchup, very good ketchup. I'm trying to remember its name.

LaBerge: Not Heinz.

Cheit: No, no. It was a regional brand. I really liked their ketchup. I know I can't remember the details now, but I remember doing some organizational development work. I did some consulting of that kind, but I didn't do a lot.

LaBerge: I guess I also picked up that you taught at the University of Minnesota in the summers.

Cheit: That's right. I think there were two summers we went up to Minneapolis. My family and June's family were still in Minneapolis, and June's parents and her sister lived in Minneapolis. And I still had my two sisters and their families, and my father--the first year. So I taught summer school at the University of Minnesota. And I think I taught labor law and probably industrial relations. I think we did it twice. We rented a house on Doswell Avenue, I remember.

LaBerge: Did you take any vacations during that time?

Cheit: Well--

LaBerge: Probably not [laughs].

Cheit: That was sort of our vacation, coming up to Minneapolis to teach summer school, yes.

We enjoyed St. Louis a lot. We went to the basketball games. St. Louis U. had a terrific basketball team. They were called Billicans. I've never really figured out what a Billican is. The university had given up football by that time, but they were a big basketball powerhouse.

The community was very good. The city of St. Louis--you know, cities that have patrician wealth tend to have the elements of culture that make a city interesting. So St. Louis had a wonderful zoo; it had reasonable art; it had good music; and so we really enjoyed St. Louis. Although the weather, especially the summers, were very bad.

LaBerge: Humid.

Cheit: Really bad. Hot and humid, yes. But we left with a real feeling for the place, and it was not an easy decision to make because we made a lot of friends.

LaBerge: Well, did you have any other offers, or were you exploring other places?

Cheit: I had not explored anything else, and I don't think anyone else had made an overture to me, nor had I tested the labor [market]. I was not looking. I was looking in the general sense that I was trying to do a lot of publishing so that people might be interested in me, but I had not made any applications or didn't ask friends--you know the way the labor market tends to work. This was the only feeler that I had.

I think that this really covers--

LaBerge: That period?

Cheit: --most of that period, yes. I wanted to mention--I made a note: Joe McKenna, I mentioned to you, was a fellow who was chairman of our department. We used to needle him because there were nine people in the department, and he was the only Catholic. He said he had his instructions from the university that when all other things are equal, hire a Catholic. And he said the things were never equal.

LaBerge: [laughs]

Cheit: He was a great economist and a very good chairman. He bought one of these old St. Louis houses on a private street. St. Louis has a lot of private streets. I can't remember now what he paid, but it was some huge sum, like maybe \$25,000 or \$28,000 or something, but he got a

small mansion. We've gone back and looked at it, and what's happened is that middle-class blacks have moved into that area. Our house, the one we owned is owned by a black family. It looks wonderful. The yard's in much better shape than when we were there. We were in a transitional neighborhood, and could get a wonderful four-bedroom house for \$17,000.

Let's see. Is there anything else that I should mention about that time? No, I mentioned Father Reinhardt, and I still see him--it's been some years, but I see him from time to time.

LaBerge: I have one other thing jotted down. You were permanent umpire?

Cheit: Oh, yes.

LaBerge: As part of a collective bargaining agreement?

Cheit: That's right. But that happened--I had been a permanent umpire twice: once in Minneapolis and once in Texas, in Fort Worth. But I did that when I came out here, actually, not in St. Louis, yes.

Now, I think--let me just search my memory to see if there are other things that I wanted to emphasize about St. Louis. I loved the people and enjoyed the university, and had a lot of admiration for the university. One thing about a Jesuit university: the building we were in was a large old building, and it had more space and offices than we needed. It had in one of its recesses offices that Jesuits used. And I once asked one what he was working on. He was translating ancient texts. There was a lot of that that went on, this absolutely wonderful scholarship, you know, that some of these classically-trained Jesuits were doing.

There was a lot of that going on in St. Louis University. I should add--I mentioned that I felt at home. I have only one honorary degree, and it's from a Catholic institution--of course, St. Mary's [College].

LaBerge: St. Mary's in Moraga?

Cheit: Yes.

V INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, 1957-1960

Travel to California; Conference in Monterey

LaBerge: Tell me about your trip from St. Louis to California.

Cheit: Well, there were five of us now. Our son Ross had been born in St. Louis on June 4, 1955. It was a wonderful trip across the country.

LaBerge: Did you stop at all the places?

Cheit: We stopped at some.

LaBerge: Salt Lake City?

Cheit: Yes, we did stop at the Great Salt Lake, yes. We arrived in Berkeley, and my host--the person who had called me was, of course, Andy Papandreou. What we promptly did was agree to rent his house for the summer--

LaBerge: Oh, perfect.

Cheit: --while they went away. We knew his wife, Maggie Papandreou, who's still alive, though as you probably know, Andy is now deceased. She is quite a figure in Greece. Let me just digress a tiny bit. You may have noticed in the paper the other day that President [William J.] Clinton was just in Athens. There was the hope that the Greeks would sign an agreement--it's a treaty about dealing with terrorism. The Greek foreign minister said this wasn't a good time to sign, but Greece would sign it later. The Greek foreign minister, of course, is Andy Papandreou's son.

LaBerge: Oh, okay.

Cheit: Anyway, we came out here, and we rented Andy Papandreou's house on Arch in Berkeley.

LaBerge: And were you going to be starting the job in the summer?

Cheit: Well, the first thing I did was to participate in a conference in Berkeley, and then a few days later, speak at a conference in Monterey because the people at the institute knew I was coming, and they were putting on conferences. So we stayed in a motel briefly, I guess, and then moved into Andy's house. I think our stuff was in storage.

At that conference in Berkeley, by the way, I met Leon Lewis--now deceased--a physician, an internist, who was very interested in workers' compensation and rehabilitation and who became our family physician and very close friend for many years. Leon--in the small world category, Leon shared offices with the fellow who is editor of the *Wellness Letter* on the campus. They shared offices in town here. Oh, what's his name?

LaBerge: Something with an "M"?

Cheit: Yes, Shelley [Sheldon] Margen.

So we moved into the Papandreou house--

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Cheit: --and I bought Andy's old Packard. He had an old Packard, and I drove that old Packard until it died. We got settled here. The Institute of Industrial Relations at that time was located on the second floor of California Hall.

LaBerge: Okay. Clark Kerr was the chancellor, is that right?

Cheit: Clark Kerr I think had just become the president. Clark Kerr had been the director of the Institute of Industrial Relations when he became the chancellor, and then he became the president, and I'm--

LaBerge: I thought it was '58 he became president.

Cheit: Yes, it was. This is '57. We started out here in the summer of '57.

LaBerge: But you didn't have an interview with him--

Cheit: No.

LaBerge: --or with [President Robert Gordon] Sproul?

Cheit: No. My interviews were only with Art Ross. Andy didn't interview me because--he knew me, and partly his risk was smaller. Andy was hiring me just to be a visiting faculty member.

Settling On Campus

LaBerge: Right, and so wouldn't have had to go through the administration.

Cheit: No. So I moved into an office on the second floor of California Hall and started to familiarize myself with the California workers' comp law. I studied the proposal that the institute had made to the Ford Foundation. And I started reading and thinking about how to structure a research project on occupational disability in California.

Then, at the same time, I had a teaching obligation. I had to get ready to teach. For the econ department, I taught Econ 1A-B several times. I taught them both at Wheeler, in Wheeler Aud[itorium] and in 11 Wheeler, which was a little bit smaller; 11 Wheeler held--I don't know--maybe 400 or 500. I enjoyed teaching Econ 1A-B very much.

LaBerge: Did you have to go through the econ department and have interviews?

Cheit: My file was reviewed by the econ faculty. I was a member of the econ department.

LaBerge: Who was chair of that?

Cheit: Andy Papandreou.

LaBerge: Oh, he was the chair of that. Okay. And Arthur Ross was the head of the Institute of Industrial Relations.

Cheit: Yes. I taught Econ 1A-B with a big group of TA's, a dozen or more. I also taught an industrial relations course. I taught a number of courses, and I want to go back and refresh my recollection.

Settling in Berkeley

LaBerge: What had you heard about Berkeley before you came? And what were your impressions when you first got here?

Cheit: Well, I had heard very little. I knew the University of California was a very good university, but I really didn't have any sense of its scope and power until we got here. Even the land was a surprise. We were startled to see those yellow hills, the gold hills of California. It was really quite a sight for us to come at the time of year we did, to come in the summer to California. It's a very odd looking place in a way.

And the ocean. I had seen the Atlantic, but I had never seen the Pacific.

LaBerge: And to go down to Monterey and Carmel the first--

Cheit: Right. Oh, yes. I remember the great thrill of just sitting on the beach and listening to the surf roar, the very restful feeling. We stayed at the Carmel River Inn. I remember that because we had driven by there. We were looking for a place to stay. We couldn't find one, and June said, "Keep going around the next corner," and the next corner, and we found the Carmel River Inn, and we had a wonderful time there.

LaBerge: Had you heard of the loyalty oath?

Cheit: No, I had no knowledge of it.

LaBerge: So when you came, were there any remnants that you picked up, or not?

Cheit: No. For all I remember, I may have signed the statement that evolved from the oath controversy. I don't remember.

LaBerge: By then--

Cheit: It had been removed?

LaBerge: Well, the original one had been removed, but the Levering Act was then in place.

Cheit: Yes, so I obviously signed that.

LaBerge: Because we're doing a series of oral histories on that, and there was a conference about a month ago.

Cheit: Right, I read about it.

LaBerge: The fiftieth anniversary. So we're trying to see what other people--like what, as an outsider, you perceived; but you hadn't--

Cheit: I have no knowledge or perception of it.

So we settled in after the Papandreou house--just to finish the housing--a second rented house on San Pedro Avenue, a couple of blocks north of Solano, from a family, the Hacks. And then we went house hunting.

Let me jump back to St. Louis. We decided that we had to sell our house ourself in St. Louis because we had just spent this small fortune remodeling it, and we wanted to get \$17,600. We wanted to get back what it had cost us. And we did. We advertised it, and I sold the house. People came. We learned some of the dirty tricks of that trade. Brokers came and represented themselves as interested buyers. But we did sell the house for \$17,600.

We decided that we could afford to spend \$20,000 for a house in Berkeley. That was our absolute top price. We could not find a house here for \$20,000, even in 1957. The prices were high. We did buy a house, but it cost us \$25,000. We're still in it.

LaBerge: It was quite a deal then, wasn't it? [laughs]

Cheit: Yes.

LaBerge: So where is it?

Cheit: It's on Lenox Road in Kensington. We've done a lot to it in forty-two years we've lived in it. But we own it.

We could not live in the fancier part of the hills. This was Kensington. Our street is kind of a working class street. It's not an elegant neighborhood. But it's been a very good neighborhood for us. It had flat streets. It's about halfway up the hill. It's two blocks below the shopping area in Kensington.

LaBerge: Did you get any kind of orientation, or did your wife--was there some kind of welcome?

Cheit: On whose part?

LaBerge: From the faculty or the department or--

Cheit: Well, the institute was a very friendly place. She joined the Section Club.

LaBerge: So someone must have called June and invited her.

Cheit: I would think so, but when we get together you ought to ask her that. She was busy because we had another child. Our daughter Julie was born on May 18, 1958.

LaBerge: In Berkeley.

Cheit: In Kensington. We joked that we would not move again because when we moved to St. Louis we had a child, and [when] we moved here we had a child. We have had no more children, but with four of them June was very busy managing our household.

Documentation from Datebooks

[Interview 5: January 27, 2000] ##

Cheit: I found my datebooks--not all, but I have found 1957, '58, '59, and '60, '61, '63, and '64. I don't seem to have '62. They're very helpful, I must say. Sometimes I was much more diligent about entering everything, but I did establish some dates. I noted that we moved on May 29, 1957; my datebook says, "moving day."

LaBerge: In your datebook--I just want to say for the tape, these datebooks are real books. They aren't little.

Cheit: That's right, but I don't want to give you the impression that there's something on every line.

LaBerge: I wonder, was it for your appointments? Or then did you write every day after--

Cheit: No, I did not. These are appointments. These are diaries only in the sense of datebooks. I did not annotate them, no.

LaBerge: Because Chancellor [Glenn] Seaborg--I don't know if you--

Cheit: I read that he wrote every day.

LaBerge: Every day, and he'd dictate something at the end of the day. And, I mean pages of exactly what he did during the day.

Cheit: Ah, that's admirable.

LaBerge: But this is wonderful, too.

Cheit: A very helpful reminder of some things. You know, the one thing that it immediately reminded me of, I started to say a minute ago, was what a productive period that was in my life, because I have in front of me five publications, including the second edition of the textbook, *Economic and Social Security*, in which I am now listed here as University of California. It came out in '62, but I worked on the revision while I was starting my project.

Ford Foundation Grant and Teaching

Cheit: I'll come back to this, but the thing that brought me to Berkeley was that the Institute of Industrial Relations--I think I mentioned this last time--had gotten a large Ford grant to do a study of occupational disability in California.

So going back to what a productive time it was, when I came, I devoted much of my energy to teaching. My title was visiting associate professor of economics and research economist at the Institute of Industrial Relations.

LaBerge: Okay. So how much were you teaching and how much were you doing research?

Cheit: Well, I was teaching--I think it was a half-time teaching appointment. At that time, half time meant two courses, which is probably full time now. But sometimes one course. I started teaching right away. My datebook reminds me that we moved out here, and we had to be here by June the sixth because I had a conference they asked me to speak at on June the sixth here in Berkeley. Then on June the tenth I had a conference in Monterey, so they really put me to work. At the end of June I started teaching summer school. I needed the income and was glad--and I taught in summer school Econ I A-B. The first time I think I taught Econ I-B. I also was doing the I-A. And I taught Econ 150, which was labor economics.

Those are courses that I taught in the econ department then in the fall of '57, '58 and '59. I taught Econ I A-B--

LaBerge: Is that one course, or is it two courses?

Cheit: Two courses. I noticed in consulting my datebook for 1957 that on August the nineteenth we moved into our house at 50 Lenox Road.

Writing and Researching for *Injury and Recovery in the Course of Employment*

LaBerge: That's amazing. I'll bet you never thought you'd be there as many years.

Cheit: No. Anyway, as I started to say, that period, then, from mid-'57 through early '64--a little over seven years--was really an enormously productive period for me. I have in front of me several books, and I'll say a little bit about them because this one, *Injury and Recovery in the Course of Employment*¹ is the result of the work that I did under that Ford grant.

LaBerge: Do you want to start with that and talk about the research?

Cheit: Yes. The book--it was published in 1961. I was very pleased I finished it on time. I promised them that I would do this project in three years. It was a three-year grant. I do remember sending a cover memo with the manuscript, pointing out that I was submitting it a few weeks ahead of schedule.

¹New York and London: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1961

This was a major study. Here we are, almost forty years later--it's still the definitive work in the field.

LaBerge: Wow. Nationally.

Cheit: Yes. A lot of it is dated, but some of it and especially one particular chapter is still widely used.

LaBerge: Which one is that?

Cheit: It's the chapter about how to calculate economic loss due to injury or death. It's entitled "Measuring Economic Loss Due to Occupational Death and Disability," starting on page 61. That chapter has informed a whole group of professionals around the country who make their livelihood testifying in court cases involving disability or death, testifying as to what the economic loss is to the survivors--in the case of death--of the family, in the case of permanent disability.

They have an association that just met in San Diego. Many times I have been called to testify--but have never done it--as an expert witness. And several times they have called to ask, would I speak to this organization. They were meeting in San Diego a few months ago, but I had a trip planned--you know, we were going hiking in Italy so I couldn't. But they look at me as kind of their godfather. I gave them a whole approach and an empirical base for their occupation.

LaBerge: How did you come up with--

Method

Cheit: Did you go through that chapter?

LaBerge: I did. Not carefully, because I don't have that background. But how did you come up with that--

Cheit: Method?

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: Yes. Well, it's very interesting. You see the formula here. The most important part is to get actual data on consumption. There was at the time a research project here run by Emily Huntington, who was in the economics department, one of the pioneer women in social insurance, now deceased. She was a productive scholar and a wonderful woman.

She ran a project. Her offices were on the top floor of the library. She had a lot of original data, consumption data from field studies. It was called the Heller Institute, I think. Let me see if I can find the footnote that refers to it. The Heller Committee on Budget Data.

And so, as I started working on this project I got to know Emily because I was in her department, and I discovered that she had extensive actual budget data from families that showed how families spend their money. She was pleased to give me access to those data--and you look at this chapter, you'll see that what I did was to calculate where there's a family with a wage earner and one child, two children, three children and a wage earner is killed; then it's easy to know what his earnings might have been. If you know what he earned, you can make a projection.

But that isn't the full measure of their loss. The full measure of their loss has to be offset by what he would have consumed had he continued to live. So how much of their income does the lost wage earner consume? One can guess, but I had actual data. And so I used those data together with other studies. But the original data, the basic data on measuring economic loss was the key. I used labor force participation rate and the life expectancy. I was able to calculate with empirical data, which no one has ever done with this depth.

This chapter on measuring economic loss is still used in most courtrooms around the United States. They accept these calculations, so I would say that once every few months I get a call from a lawyer--in Florida, Illinois, New York, anywhere--saying, "I have a death case, and I'm using your book. Have you brought it up to date? Are there newer data?" And the answer is no. And do I know of anyone else? No, I don't. So that chapter is still the definitive work.

Anyway, I settled in at Berkeley to do this research.

LaBerge: And you settled in California Hall?

Cheit: A small office at first. I eventually moved into larger space in California Hall, but I had to hire a staff. In the beginning, I had to figure out how to do the project.

LaBerge: Because you did everything. I mean, you were the--

Cheit: I ran the project. It was my project. I conceived it and worked on it and then hired people. We gathered data, as you know if you go through that book, from all over California. And I had more than a dozen people working for me, mostly interviewers, once we got to that stage. But the first part was the conception of the project. I had to think about how to do it.

I consulted a lot of people. I got to know the people who administered the California law. California had a great statistician, a man by the name of Maurice Gershenson [Chief of the California Division of Labor Statistics and Research], whose brother had Gersh Photo on Solano. But Maurice Gershenson was Mr. Labor Statistics of California. A wonderful man. Anyway, I got to know him and his family. I really benefitted a lot from him.

And I talked to a lot of other people. Eli Welch [Industrial Accident Commission staff] was the man who was head of a rating bureau that rated the severity of disability in California. I also got to know the people who ran the state compensation insurance fund.

I had my research offices in the Odd Fellows [Lodge] Hall. Do you know where the Odd Fellows Hall is on Oxford?

LaBerge: Oh, yes.

Cheit: The Odd Fellows are a dwindling lot, but they still have a hall there. My project was on the top floor. The Institute of Industrial Relations had rented those rooms. It's the corner of Bancroft and Oxford. It's an old building, with very big offices. There were still a few Odd Fellows. They had an auditorium, which was very secret, in which they did their rituals.

Staff and Data Gathering

LaBerge: How did you go about hiring people?

Cheit: A number of ways. One person I hired was someone I met as a student here. He got his master's with me. His name is Burt[on] Wolfman, who is now retired and lives on Cape Cod. He went on to have a very good career. He was very important. Another was Marge Frantz, Mrs. Laurent Frantz—I met her through Burt Wolfman. I had other research assistants and about six other people who worked as interviewers. It was a big project.

LaBerge: I read--how many?--over a thousand cases.

Cheit: Yes.

LaBerge: How did you find those people?

Cheit: Oh, through the files of injured people in California.

LaBerge: Throughout the state?

Cheit: Yes. As you can see from the book, I start by thanking Maurice Gershenson first and E.P. Welch, Eli Welch, and Anshall Nelson. And the Industrial Accident Commission that gave me access to their data.

Just a little aside: When [Edmund G., Jr.] Jerry Brown was elected governor, he appointed as head of the Industrial Relations Department in California a man I got to know very well working on this project, Don Vial. He called and asked me would I be willing to be an

administrative judge for workmen's comp--take a leave from the university. I was too far away from it at that time, so I declined, but it was thoughtful of him to ask me.

The name of the book, *Injury and Recovery in the Course of Employment* is a term of art. That's why I used it as the title. It's kind of a cumbersome book title. But workers' comp covers injury in the course of employment. And what I was studying here is the recovery, both economic, but also the physical, the rehabilitation and psychological. And that's why I used that title.

The book covers the origins of this program and then analyzes what has happened to it. Then I go through efforts to try to deal with the injustice, particularly with death benefits. I think I had considerable impact there. And then permanent disability which is partial but not total, and total permanent disability. These are the people who suffer the most under workers' comp.

We went out to find those people. What the interviewers did was to go out and see what had happened to them and to find out how much money they were earning, had their benefits run out, what was their economic situation. So the major cost of the project was traveling around the state. I had people cover cases all over the state of California.

We went down to Los Angeles for a while and set up an office in a rinky-dink motel. I taught summer school at UCLA to help pay the bills for my family, but we interviewed in the L.A. area very extensively because that's where so much of our population is.

LaBerge: So did you do interviewing, too?

Cheit: Yes. Oh, yes.

LaBerge: And did you formulate some kind of pattern for everyone to use?

Cheit: Yes. We saved those data for--I don't know--maybe twenty-five years or so. But they became very burdensome to--

LaBerge: Carry around.

Cheit: Yes. And so we threw them out about fifteen years ago. But we saved them for a long time so they'd be available for other researchers. We developed an interview form, and everyone found the people and followed that form.

LaBerge: Which must have been hard to do, too, to find them.

Cheit: It was. People move around a lot.

Anyway, the interviewers found it was a moving experience. I had several graduate students. And they were really moved--you can't work in this field this way without being

deeply touched by the plight of those people. A lot of human interest stories, and some malingering was uncovered. But the major story, though, was that this is our oldest social insurance system, with a very noble history of high aspirations, that over time had become neglected.

I did more than the project had planned, because while I was at it, I did those parts of the system in the U.S. that aren't under workers' compensation, namely admiralty law and the railroad workers, who are under their own system.

The book made quite a splash. You can imagine. I testified a lot around the country and in California, in the legislature a great deal.

LaBerge: You didn't testify in court?

Cheit: No, I never became a hired gun.

LaBerge: Did you make a conscious decision not to?

Cheit: Yes, I just felt I shouldn't do that, yes.

So anyway, this book was the product I promised to finish in three years. In the meantime, I had done the revision of my text. Also the Bureau of Labor Standards, which is the part of the U.S. Department of Labor that concerns itself with occupational disability, asked me to do an analysis of the provision of medical care in all the laws, all over the country. It wasn't too hard because by this time I was very well known, and I was able to get data from all the states. So I did a monograph, this monograph for the U.S. Department of Labor.

LaBerge: Let's record the name.

Cheit: "Medical Care Under Workman's Compensation, 1960."

LaBerge: What year?

Cheit: It was published in 1962.

LaBerge: So you were doing it sort of--

Cheit: I worked on it and on a book of essays at the same time. I worked with Peg Gordon, really a legendary figure on this campus--she originally was known as the wife of Aaron Gordon, a famous economist, but she became famous in her own right. At that time the university had very stringent rules about nepotism, and so even though she was fully qualified to be in the Department of Economics here, she could not be hired.

She was the one who read and approved my manuscript. And she became interested in the subject matter, and so she said, "Why don't we do a book of essays together?"

So she and I edited and contributed to this book. I put it together. The preface gives you some of the history. What Art Ross says is that "*Injury and Recovery in the Course of Employment* was the first major publication resulting from the study of occupational disability, funded by the Ford Foundation. As Dr. Cheit's project neared completion"--so there was some money left over! That's what it was. I had forgotten that part. "--grant funds permitted us to develop a second, closely related volume."²

We identified people, and if you go through the book there are probably--let's see, one--not counting myself and Peg Gordon, there were about a dozen other people who were specialists from around the country.

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Cheit: We each did an essay. Mine was on disability compensation. Peg did two of them. She did "Europe and the British Commonwealth Before and After World War II," how they approached the problem of people who were injured at their work. And we edited this volume--and it's a good volume. It was very widely used.

I was also writing articles during this time. And then I was nearing the end of my second year. I think it was sometime maybe late '58 when the question came up, what was I going to do when the three years was up?

LaBerge: A question from somebody else or--

Cheit: Well, I mean, I was not disinterested in that question!

LaBerge: Right.

Cheit: You know, whether I had a job, because I had left a tenured position at St. Louis University, although they told me that they'd welcome me to come back. Of course, I wondered whether I could get a permanent job here. By this time Aaron Gordon had become chairman of the econ department, and he told me that they didn't have a position. My own guess is that they didn't want to hire another person in social insurance, that I wasn't the kind of economist they wanted permanently.

LaBerge: Oh, they already had somebody?

Cheit: Emily Huntington, who was a major figure in that field. And who knows what all the elements are, but he said that I should not count on them, that they were not going to be in a position to offer me a job. In fairness, I was a three-year visitor.

²*Occupational Disability and Public Policy*, edited by Earl F. Cheit and Margaret Gordon (New York: Wiley, 1963)

Associate Professor in the Business School, 1960

Cheit: But Grether, Dean [Ewald T.] Grether, who was dean of the business school sought me out to ask would I be interested in coming to work at the business school? I had gotten to know him. I was fairly active on the campus. We had met because I was on [Academic] Senate committees. And I said, "Probably. Tell me what you have in mind."

He had something special in mind. He felt that business education was vulnerable to the criticism that it was too specialized and that it needed work that related the field of business to its larger environment. He knew I had done this work for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, that I used to review business books, and that I was both a lawyer and a Ph.D. in economics, and then I had had a lot of other interests. So he asked if I would be interested in developing the field of business and its environment in the business school.

Skipping a lot of intermediate steps, I said yes. I was reviewed, went through the Academic Senate review process, and was offered and accepted a job as associate professor. I became associate professor in 1960.

I started teaching in the business school. I think I taught Bus Ad 150, which was the industrial relations course. I was now out of the econ department, although I may have taught Econ I A-B for another semester.

Teaching the "Social and Political Environment of Business"

Cheit: My task was to introduce into the business school a course of study called Social and Political Environment of Business. I started with an experimental course, for which you didn't need Academic Senate approval; it was called the Social, Political and Legal Environment of Business. The faculty here had a couple of people interested in this field. One very good person, whom you probably knew, was Dow Votaw.

LaBerge: I've heard his name, but I didn't know him.

Cheit: He was teaching business law but really teaching the legal environment of business. It was a broad business law course. He was very helpful to me, and he was older, and had thought about this subject matter in a more systematic way than I had.

So I offered an experimental elective course to interested undergraduates. I think this was probably late '61 or early '62. They had to work very hard because they had to read seven or

eight books in a ten-week quarter. I started with how the Protestant ethic originated in American culture, and what happened to it.

The course was quite successful. Students loved it. I had about fifteen students in this small experimental [course]. So Grether said, "Let's get going." And so I developed a formal course proposal on the Social, Political and Legal Environment of Business, and submitted it to the Committee on Courses. Soon I was teaching a regular course.

At the University of California, your research and your teaching are closely linked. So I left the field of occupational disability. I felt I had said what I had to say. I had part of a textbook, a major research monograph, a series of essays, a special bulletin for the Department of Labor, and probably eight or ten articles. I also wrote two articles for the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, one on industrial accidents, the other on industrial relations. So--

LaBerge: You had done it.

Impact of Study on Occupational Disability

LaBerge: Can we go back there and talk a little bit more about occupational disability before we go to the business school?

Cheit: Sure.

LaBerge: Okay. What has happened since you made that study? What changed in the law, both in California and in the nation?

Cheit: The study had an impact because many people were interested in it. The law has been liberalized very considerably. It still has some of the defects that I point to in that book; that is, people who are temporarily disabled and who continue to be part of a union, who have advocates on their behalf, tend to be treated fairly.

But the more seriously, permanently disabled such as severe permanent partial and permanent total, the system lags badly. That's one of the major things that we showed in Minnesota when I did that study with Steve Riesenfeld and then here.

I haven't looked at the data most recently, but if I were to guess, I'd say that's still probably the weakest part of the system. So what happens is if you're in an industrial accident and you're paralyzed from the waist down or you lose a leg, rehabilitation services are generally inadequate. Many of these people could go back to work if they were given the right kind of rehabilitation.

What often happens is people become soured, they turn to lawyers, and then have an incentive to magnify their injury rather than to overcome it in rehabilitation. There are built-in disincentives. The people who end up suing and who end up having to demonstrate how disabled they are become fundamental "losers," even if they get a court settlement.

The challenge is, how can you devise a system that will compensate people adequately, give them the kind of medical care and rehabilitation that will give them an incentive to want to go back and feel that it's in their interest to want to go back into the work force?

My guess is that the inequities aren't as bad as they were when I first started looking at the system. But they still need attention. And those are the people who are cast aside--that's kind of a long-winded answer to your question.

LaBerge: Were you asked to help write any of the laws?

Cheit: No, I was not, but I was asked to testify. I did a lot, both in California and then in the Congress, where they were concerned about radiation. If you go through my work, you'll see I did a long piece for the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. I went to some states and gave talks to people around the country. But I was never invited to do any drafting.

Culture of the Institute of Industrial Relations

LaBerge: Well, then, my other question was just about the Institute of Industrial Relations and how that was run, what your first impressions of that were--because I know there was some, not controversy, but in '61 or '62 there was a conference in Monterey. I was reading through Dean Grether's oral history.³ There was criticism of the institute for being too management-oriented and not labor-oriented.

Cheit: Yes, there was that criticism, but it came later. Clark Kerr ran the Institute of Industrial Relations in an even-handed manner. By the way, I'm having lunch with Clark on a totally different matter.

LaBerge: Today?

Cheit: Yes. Clark directed the institute after World War II, when there was a lot of labor conflict in California and many legislators thought that it should be the subject of attention in the

³Ewald T. Grether, "Dean of UC Berkeley Schools of Business Administration, 1943-1961; Leader in Campus Administration, Public Service, and Marketing Studies; and Forever a Teacher," in two volumes, an oral history conducted 1975-1987 by Harriet Nathan, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1993.

university. Art Ross was the director when I came out here. He was a very well-respected labor arbitrator.

The institute was a really lively place intellectually. If you go back and look at its roster at that time--it had Marty Lipset in sociology; it had Walter Galenson in economics; Lloyd Ulman in economics; myself, Art Ross, Joe Garbarino, Van Dusen Kennedy, Mason Haire, who was a great industrial psychologist and Peg Gordon, Margaret Gordon. And I'm sure I'm leaving out--oh, of course Reinhard Bendix, the authority on Max Weber. Also Phil Selznick did some work with us.

The institute had a policy that everyone had to have an academic appointment. With the exception of Peg Gordon there were no full-time research appointments. The people were highly productive, both in books, articles and conferences.

You mentioned the concern that the institute had become too management oriented. I think at one point California's unions felt a sense of ownership, or at least that they were the major voice in the direction of the institute. That slipped away.

LaBerge: It wasn't from inside; it was from the California Federation of Labor.

Cheit: Right.

LaBerge: But then the review committee on campus didn't agree.

Cheit: Yes. Anyway, in answer to your question, it was a very lively, productive place with a big conference program. After I became part of the Berkeley faculty, I was appointed its associate director.

LaBerge: Okay. Under Art Ross?

Cheit: Yes. My assignment was to oversee its conference programs, its education programs, and some of its research. It had become too big for Peg Gordon to do alone. We were both associate directors. That was my first administrative job in the university.

John Hutchinson was there, an ebullient man, who was the trombone player in our Dixieland band. But he also was a good scholar. He wrote a splendid essay on John L. Lewis, entitled "Captain of a Mighty Host."⁴ When John was writing a book on union corruption⁵--he found that reference to my holding that election in St. Louis in the hearings on corruption in the Teamsters.

⁴*Yale Review* vol. 50, no. 1, pp 42-52. 1960

⁵John Hutchinson, *The Imperfect Union; A History of Corruption in American Trade Unions* (New York: Dutton, 1970)

LaBerge: Oh, okay.

Cheit: He came running into my office with that citation.

By now I had moved from the Odd Fellows Hall. When the project was finished, I moved to California Hall, on the second floor. Mason Haire had an office there. As I've said, the institute was the focus of key issues in society at the time: labor, social insurance, industrial relations, conflict resolution.

Aside on California Hall

LaBerge: And you had people from all different fields.

Cheit: Right. It was certainly interdisciplinary.

This is way ahead of the story, but I'm reminded of it by talking about California Hall. The southeast corner of California Hall was where President Robert Gordon Sproul had his office. There are many great stories about Sproul and that office and I'll come to one of them later.

That corner office where Sproul was located was always in my mind. When I was executive vice chancellor we obtained the money to restore California Hall and put the office of the chancellor in there. It was 1968. I oversaw that work. I insisted that the chancellor use the corner of the building where Robert Gordon Sproul worked. And then secondly--this is the first time this symbolic story is revealed!

LaBerge: Oh! I'm going to call the networks! [Laughs]

Cheit: I had the architects get the plans for University Hall, seventh floor, northeast office, where President Clark Kerr had his office. I wanted to know the exact square footage of that office. My instructions were that in the design of the Office of the Chancellor, it should be a few square feet larger.

We did it. And the chancellor has a slightly larger office than the president had while he was in University Hall.

LaBerge: It would be interesting to know now how big it is down in Oakland.

Cheit: Yes. Anyway, that was one of the little fun projects that I worked on. The last question you asked me is how was it working in the institute.

More People at IIR

LaBerge: Where was the rest of the institute? Also California Hall?

Cheit: Yes.

LaBerge: Okay, it wasn't in a separate spot.

Cheit: No. When I left the Odd Fellows Hall, they still had one or two projects down there. There was a woman by the name of Corinne Gilb, who had an office and was working on a survey project. She had a small staff, working down there.

It was in California Hall where I met all of these people later. Margaret Mould, who was then office manager for the institute. An absolutely outstanding person who maintained the morale, took care of grievances. When I became executive vice chancellor, I wanted her in Dwinelle, in the chancellor's office.

And the other person I met there was, of course, Nancy--then Nancy Fujita, now Nancy Nakayama. She was the secretary to John Hutchinson, who was the head of labor programs. When I became executive vice chancellor, I asked her to become my secretary. She stayed with me and then, when I left, worked with Bob Johnson, vice chancellor for student affairs, who later became a vice president, and she went with him to University Hall.

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Cheit: [When did Nancy become] the executive assistant to the president?

LaBerge: I don't know.

Cheit: Probably [President David] Saxon, yes. And then, of course, when David Gardner came she stayed on with him.

LaBerge: When you were directing the research grant, had you ever done something like that before? Like, figured out how to use the funds, how to--

Cheit: No. I think the total grant was a bit over \$300,000.

LaBerge: And that was totally up to you--you had to figure out the travel and how many staff--

Cheit: Right. And make sure we had it done within the budget. Peg Gordon was overseeing things. She would have kept me in line if I had done something too stupid, but yes, it was up to me to figure out how to do it within the budget. And I'm just reminded now, we actually came in under budget and had enough money to publish that other volume.

LaBerge: Which is kind of amazing.

Cheit: Yes. But it took a lot of money for interviewers to cover the whole state.

Early Involvement with Academic Senate

LaBerge: When did you become involved with the Academic Senate? Do you remember a first meeting?

Cheit: Well, I first became involved with the Academic Senate when I was appointed to the Committee on Faculty Welfare. I think the name has changed slightly. It was the committee that analyzed faculty pensions and kept track of the adequacy of faculty benefits. I later became its chairman. But later I served on several senate committees, as most people do. You feel that you're part of the institution and you have an obligation to help run it, at least to help shape the policy for it. Perhaps there was less cynicism then.

LaBerge: Is that something you're just appointed to, or do you express interest?

Cheit: At that time, they just appointed you. They do it more intelligently now. They send out a questionnaire and ask what your interests are. I don't know whether I told you this story or not, but we always were concerned about the adequacy of the pension system, UCRS [University of California Retirement System]. And I had the assignment of talking to faculty members to learn their views.

I made a luncheon appointment with George Stewart, who was by then a famous author. I knew him a little bit, but I got to know him a lot better. "Well," he said, "I'll tell you, Budd, that once my books started selling the way they did, I've totally lost interest in university retirement benefits." [laughter]

LaBerge: Would you have any other anecdotes about the Academic Senate? I'm not sure how we should approach it, if we should have that be one subject and go through all the years or--
[interruption]

Richmond School Board, 1959-1965

Campaign and Election

Cheit: There were several other things going on at this time, and one of them that I might bring up now is the school board.

LaBerge: Oh, that's right. Okay.

Cheit: I became active as a parent in our public school. When we bought our house the school bus picked up children about 200 feet from our front door. A year and a half later, the district announced there would be no more school buses. June and I became alarmed and we started to go to meetings.

LaBerge: And this was Richmond.

Cheit: Yes. We live in Kensington, which is in Contra Costa County, and part of the Richmond School District. We're about two blocks inside of Contra Costa County.

So at meetings I probably talked too much, and was eventually asked if I would consider running for school board. I said yes. At that time, the district was divided into [a] high school district and a[n] elementary school district. I ran for the high school board.

LaBerge: Okay. Did you have high schoolers at that time?

Cheit: Well, let's see.

LaBerge: I was trying to figure out myself how old your kids were in '61.

Cheit: Well, '61 is thirty-eight years ago. Wendy, our oldest child is forty-eight, so she was still in grade school.

LaBerge: So maybe you were looking ahead because high school--

Cheit: Was on the way. The districts later merged. Anyway, I ran for the high school board, and I won. My campaign manager was a woman, Joan Haber, who was well known in the district because she was active in Democratic politics. She was extremely able. I had gotten to know her through the Kensington Democratic Club, which I became head of at some later point.

The people who persuaded me to run were the leaders of the teachers' union, the AFT, the American Federation of Teachers. They were led by a man who was a legendary figure in El Cerrito, Ben Rust. He taught history and was the teacher people have in mind when they think

of a model high school teacher. Among other things, he made violins and other musical instruments with wood, and was an able and effective teacher.

Later, in thanks for my running and serving, he carved a bear for me. He knew that I'm a very loyal California Golden Bear, and he carved a redwood bear that I still have. It's a wonderful bear, its claws are from the teeth of a comb, the ears are from an old baseball glove, and the eyes are marbles. I treasure that bear. It's in my study, the centerpiece of my bear collection.

LaBerge: Oh, I didn't know that you had a bear collection.

Cheit: Yes, about fifteen bears. Anyway, Ben Rust has been long deceased. I think he may still have some family in El Cerrito.

Joan Haber said that she'd run my campaign if I would do precinct work. You've got to go out there and ring doorbells. I agreed. So she was my campaign manager, and I walked precincts.

LaBerge: Did you have a platform? When people came to the door--

Cheit: Oh, I had a platform, and I published it. I was tutored by an old Democratic Party leader in Richmond, now deceased, a man by the name of Burt Coffey, the man who ran [Assemblyman] Jack Knox's campaign.

LaBerge: I've heard that name.

Cheit: Oh, yes. He was once head of the California Democratic Council. Anyway, Burt Coffey worked me over to help me sharpen my points. The key ones were to restore services, to build new schools, to improve the schools. And we did pass a school bond. We built Kennedy High School, Pinole Valley School, remodeled De Anza, remodeled El Cerrito High. We did all that, I think, for about \$8 million.

The people who encouraged me to run wanted someone who was sensitive to the growing problem of racial separation and the need for integration. That became part of the platform I ran on and was elected.

There was a man on the high school board who ran a printing company in Richmond. His name was Stan Eastman. He was continually berating the teachers and advocating cuts. They hated him. Stan won reelection, so I served on that board with him. He evolved into a supporter of the schools. He eventually turned into a solid board member.

During my term, the parts of the district merged. Do you remember Jesse Unruh?

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: "Big Daddy" Jesse Unruh was the speaker of the California assembly. One of his key concerns was that there were too many school districts in California. He wanted to merge them into fewer, more efficient districts. His famous AB 1 was the school unification bill.

LaBerge: Do you know what year, by any chance?

Cheit: No, I don't. It was sometime in my first term.

LaBerge: Between '61--

Cheit: And '64. Probably '62 and '63, maybe--because the second time I ran, I ran for the Richmond Unified School District. We had merged. Then the election was for a single board. There were ten of us competing for seven seats. And I was reelected to a second term. I resigned from that term shortly after I became vice chancellor because it became impossible to do both.

School Bonds and Teachers' Salaries

Cheit: We had some successes. As I mentioned, we passed a school bond, after failing once. At that time, you know, Prop. 13 hadn't passed. Bond measures required a majority, not two-thirds. And we developed a salary plan to be a little more generous with our teachers. Teachers are horribly underpaid and have little salary growth. We tried to have a scale that enabled teachers to double their salary over a career that reached the top range.

We struggled to have this multiple of two.

LaBerge: In the high school district.

Cheit: In the unified school district. So that meant that the teachers started at that time--I can't remember now the actual numbers, but a teacher may have started at (say) \$6,000, and then the salary structure for the retiring teacher would be at least double that amount.

One interesting change we made was in the way the board meetings were conducted. The meeting used to start with all the reports and then after all that was over, the public and the teachers got to speak. We changed that around so that education issues were the first thing on the agenda.

We had a lot of scraps with the janitors' union because they had to keep the pressure on us. I understood that. Everybody ought to have a chance to serve on a school board because you really are in touch with what people care about in a community. We had pressure from the people wanting books removed from the reading list, and from the library. [J. D.] Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye* was a key target.

In all, it was a very instructive experience. You discover all these people doing good things. And you get to know the teachers and the administrators. It's really an eye-opener on what makes things run. Anyway, we made our share of mistakes.

Integration

Cheit: One good decision we made was to launch a major study of racial integration in the district. We came up with a plan to integrate the schools, a busing plan--not nearly as drastic as Berkeley's, but I thought it was an intelligent plan, and it was one that we could manage.

LaBerge: Did you do this voluntarily?

Cheit: I would say yes and no. Yes, we did it voluntarily. No, because we had plenty of pressure. I'm sure that you could talk to people in the district who would say, "If we hadn't kept their feet to the fire, they wouldn't have done it." So we had plenty of pressure. We developed the plan, and then, as the plan started to go into effect, I resigned. There was lots of fallout from the plan. Many, many community meetings, explaining what the plan was and how it was going to work and so on.

We had built Kennedy, and students could elect to be bused to the Kennedy School. Our two youngest, Ross and Julie, chose to go to Kennedy instead of El Cerrito, to go to a more integrated school. At first, it was an elective plan, and then eventually a certain number had to go. It was a qualified success, at best, for the district; but it was the right thing to do.

Other Issues

LaBerge: At the same time you were doing all of this, these books and everything else?

Cheit: Yes [laughs]. When I started, I used to estimate I spent about eight hours a week on school board. When I left the board, people were spending probably twenty hours a week.

LaBerge: Wow.

Cheit: At our first board meeting the county attorney met with us to explain the law. He told us that you're only a school board member when you were here with the board. When you go home, you are an elected member of this board, but you can't speak for it. And he explained a lot of other things. At that time, the law, for example, on homosexuality was draconian. We had an incident that required that one of our teachers be fired.

As he was explaining the many legal issues I said to him, "Well, as a new member of this board, I'd like you to send me the entire California education code." And he laughed! "You really want that?" He said, "It's larger than a set of encyclopedias." I quickly learned how much education is regulated. By now I suspect that the amount of stuff in the education code has doubled.

Another thing that was instructive was a rule that gave local bidders an advantage. It was either a 5 percent or 10 percent advantage. So when a school needed toilet tissue or soap or linoleum or whatever, it went out to bid. Suppliers in the district would have an edge. You know, it's kind of an old-fashioned notion of taking care of the hometown.

When we were building two new schools and remodeling others, I got at least a half a dozen phone calls, including one from someone I don't want to name!--a very prominent person in that community. They were calling to urge that we hire a certain Richmond architect. We had a big fight about this, but I thought we ought to add some beauty--and people may dispute whether we did--but June and I took our kids in our station wagon on Sundays, and I got a list of newly built schools in the area, and we drove around and looked at schools that had been built in the last few years. We saw one in San Leandro that really looked interesting. It was designed by a San Francisco architect.

Eventually the board retained him. He designed Kennedy High School, which a lot of people say looks like a prison! Whether we did better I won't say, but we did break that local hold. However, we did give some of the remodeling work to the locals.

Anyway, it was a very enlightening five years. I have at home a little certificate that a later school board presented to their predecessors for their service. It's a very modest certificate that I really appreciate. You know, this service was all out of our own hides. We were never even paid for our expenses.

I'm sure the state and the country are full of people who do this.

LaBerge: Right.

Kensington Democratic Club

[Interview 6: March 13, 2000] ##

LaBerge: In our last interview I think you had finished talking about the Richmond School Board and serving on it. I was asking you about also being on the board of trustees and whether that was the same thing, because someplace I had this date that you were on the board of trustees until '67. That might be some--

Cheit: No, that's incorrect.

LaBerge: I thought you left when you became vice chancellor.

Cheit: That's right. I originally ran and went on the board in 1960. I think the election was in '59. Then there was a second election in '64 and I was reelected. I was on the unified school district board at that time, and the election--well, I suppose it was November--I became vice chancellor the following August and quickly saw that I couldn't do both. So I resigned from the school board position. So it would be sometime in '65.

LaBerge: At the same time you were president of the Kensington Democratic Club from '63 to '65.

Cheit: Yes. I was president of the Kensington Democratic Club.

LaBerge: Maybe we could talk about that for a minute, how you got involved in that.

Cheit: Sure. It's an organization that's now defunct. At the time a lot of our friends were very active Democrats, and it was an effective club. It's demise reflects what's happening to the way the political process works these days. At that time politics was local. You'd do precinct work. What precinct work means is you take a stack of your pamphlets and you go door to door, you ring doorbells, people come out and you introduce yourself and give your message. Also our club meetings were very lively.

LaBerge: Once a month, something like that?

Cheit: Probably, yes. We were more active during the election season. It was just good folks getting together. You cared about who was running for judges and who was running for county board of education, and who was running for county board of supervisors. And then you got information out. Today you pick up your ballot and you see the people running for municipal judge or the county board of supervisors or the county board of education and chances are most people don't have the slightest idea about who these people are. We did [laughs]. We'd have them out to speak to the club and you'd get a sense of them. There is no more Kensington Democratic Club--not that there aren't Kensington Democrats, but politics is now television, direct mailing and computerized phone banks.

Integration of Richmond Unified School District Schools

LaBerge: Was your wife active in it also?

Cheit: Yes, she was.

We talked the last time about the integration report, the integration of the district. We hired a consulting firm--we did not get them pro bono but we got a reduced rate. Booz, Allen and Hamilton, a big-time management consulting firm. We got them to analyze the district. Its primary focus was, "Were we a segregated district? Were we an integrated district? What could we do about our own racial situation?"

When I ran for the school board I discovered people in Richmond had a view of Kensington that it's this elegant place on the hill, and people used to have the notion that the Kensington School was somehow made of gold bricks. I used to laugh about that because our kids went to that school, and it was a group of very modest structures. But it's sitting on that wonderful hill overlooking the Bay, and a lot of kids who went there did very well. So trying to unify this district and give it a sense of coherence was one of our big challenges. The Booz, Allen and Hamilton report dealt with that.

The most sensitive and eventually explosive issue was integration. Berkeley had started busing. We started by redrawing some district lines and then setting up a voluntary integration program. As I mentioned earlier, two of our children participated. They agreed to be part of a voluntary integration of the district, by going to Kennedy High School.

LaBerge: Where would they have gone--

Cheit: El Cerrito. They both went to Kennedy High. While the racial tension about school districting lines in Richmond was playing out, I was already off the board.

The voluntary plan worked fairly well. Then we tried other things. We tried creating magnet schools so that kids would really be drawn there. I'd say we had a moderate amount of success. But race was an important issue in Richmond, although Richmond had had more black people in positions of leadership than I think is generally realized. If you look at city council members, if you look at influential people like attorneys in town, judges--there was more integration in Richmond than is generally recognized. Those people were very important in making this a rational rather than an explosive process--although it was highly charged. You'd get these horrible phone calls from people berating us. June had some bad calls.

LaBerge: At home.

Cheit: Yes. It was kind of a wild time in a way.

Earlier I mentioned our work on teacher pay. We tried to create a structure that doubled entry pay at retirement. A ratio of two and a half would have been better, but even doubling was a struggle. Salary was one issue where the teachers' union would come to the school board and berate us, and I agreed with them [chuckles]. They were right.

The other things about my experience on the board is that at that time a lot of the issues that have since emerged in running integrated institutions were very clear. We did an analysis of grades by race.

LaBerge: Of letter grades that people got?

Cheit: That students got in the district, in the high schools. It was absolutely clear that Asians were always the highest, the whites were in the middle, and the blacks were third. It was clear that we were looking at something that was part of a much larger pattern.

LaBerge: How unified was the board, for instance, about the integration?

Cheit: It was split, but a very strong majority supported it. But in the one or two elections following the time I left the board, some members were replaced, and the board tipped in the other direction. The new board didn't undo what we had done, but I guess the people who put them in felt safer that that group of people was still there.

A long-serving superintendent retired while I was on the board. His name was Ralph Minor. After a big search we brought in a man by the name of James Merrihew. I thought he was quite a good superintendent. Being a superintendent is a very tough job. We always worried about the principals of our high schools because historically the people who became principals usually came out of athletics. The coaches often became principals. There's a reason for that, and that is that most of them knew how to speak to the Rotary Club and the Chamber of Commerce. They had a public persona. A lot of them were very good people, but they weren't principals because of vision or training. So we tried to undo that system and we made a little bit of headway. You learn on a school board that you move ahead incrementally.

We had many of the issues that schools have. The district had a group of people with redneck attitudes. So people would complain about the books their kids were reading. We never removed a book, or told a teacher what to teach. But we had to give these people a hearing. Merrihew was very adept at these things. When unhappy people came to the board he would say, "Could you read to the board the offending passage?" [laughs] They'd back down. But you know, you see the diversity of life in a community like Richmond, which is not Berkeley, believe me. But I found on the whole that it was a very satisfying experience.

At that time--I hope it's still that way now--there were so many good teachers. I never felt that we had very many lousy teachers. I knew they weren't all perfect, but by and large I was very pleased with who we had teaching at the schools. When you pass a bond issue you just feel so elated.

LaBerge: I haven't followed Richmond School District except for occasional articles about the superintendent.

Cheit: They did not do well in these recently published one-to-ten ratings. They were at or near the bottom. I would guess that at that time there were virtually no private schools in this area. Somewhere I saw recently the number of private schools I think in the Berkeley area. It's something like twenty or twenty-three. I don't know how many there are in Richmond, but maybe half that. If you look at the amount of adverse selection that the public schools are left

with, because parents who don't want their kids to go through the public school experience today go to private schools.

We don't have a lot of friends with school-age children any more, but we have some, and some grandchildren, and we've heard very good reports about El Cerrito, for example. But I really am out of touch.

VI THE BUSINESS SCHOOL, 1960

The Social and Political Dimension of Business

LaBerge: Let's go then to the business school. You told me how you became a professor of business, that Dean Grether searched you out when you didn't know what you were going to do.

Cheit: That's right. When the economics department said they did not have a job for me when my three years were up. He sought me out and I've been extraordinarily grateful to him. He wanted to introduce into the business school the social and political dimension of business.

LaBerge: And you did talk about your experimental course. That's as far as we got.

Cheit: That experimental course was very successful.

LaBerge: It was to undergraduates?

Cheit: Yes. It led to the subject matter becoming a whole field in the school, which is now in the process of being splintered, but that's another story thirty years later. Anyway, Grether was eager to introduce that material into the curriculum. He originally saw it as what he called a "capstone" course. He had the idea that in their senior year students should be required to take this course. His vision was very clear. He had a very clear notion that even though students do have two years lower division liberal arts, he felt that it wasn't enough and that the dealing with larger societal issues, we ought to have responsibility for that.

If you go back and look at my syllabi for those courses, we dealt with some history--and if I may just parenthetically here digress a bit, in about a month from now I'm going to be lecturing for Bear Treks, the [Alumni Association] travel group, on a boat that goes around Chesapeake Bay. It's a seven- or eight-day trip. They have a naturalist who lectures about Chesapeake Bay, and they asked me if I would want to lecture, about early American business. The title of my two talks to the people on this 100-passenger boat is "Colonies, Corporations, and the Rise of a National Business System."

The reason I thought of that just now is that "Colonies, Corporations and the Rise of the National Business System" is something I taught in the social and political environment of business. Although most of my students had American history, they weren't aware that the Pilgrims came to this land under a stock company, a form of a corporation. Each of seventy London merchants put up the money in ten-pound shares. I have from an archival source, a copy of the original document that the Pilgrims came with. The Pilgrims may have wanted to set up a religious colony, but they were also here meeting the needs of shareholders.

I don't want to get into that in detail now, but to show them that whereas the countries that sent the people here all had government and status systems based on land or on blood, commerce always had an honorable place here, unlike France or Britain. Here it was honorable to rise in business as Ben Franklin did, for example. Our constitution is very favorable to a national business system.

Anyway, those were the types of concepts that were introduced in this course. We analyzed the business novel, the Protestant ethic. I used to assign *The Caine Mutiny* so students could deal with the conflict between the individual and the organization. The students were energized by the material.

LaBerge: I bet. How did you even put it together?

Cheit: It took a while. One of my goals--and this will take us ahead a little bit to 1964--was to cause to be written some new interesting material in this field.

Conference, 1964, Leads to *The Business Establishment*

LaBerge: We should talk about that.

Cheit: Okay. This involves the Ford Foundation. The Ford Foundation is important in my life because I went there as a visitor and then they invited me to stay. I didn't, but I've done a lot of things under the foundation's auspices. And I had helped the Ford Foundation in various ways, serving on committees, reviewing grant proposals. So when Grether--"Greth," as everyone affectionately called him--asked me to do this course, I had the idea of organizing a conference. Faculty at other colleges and universities around the country were introducing courses like mine, and they could use new, original material.

I prepared a proposal to the Ford Foundation that I invite about a half a dozen people to prepare original essays based on issues that we dealt with in the course. Those essays would be presented at a conference to which I would invite people who were teaching courses like mine.

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Cheit: The foundation said yes. I promptly scraped the top of the barrel and went to the best people in the country. I invited Paul Samuelson [*Personal Freedoms and Economic Freedoms in a Mixed Economy*], who even then was America's leading economist. I invited Dick Hofstadter, the leading scholar of American history. Samuelson did the piece on economics--essentially markets and freedom. Hofstadter did one on the antitrust movement. I've had requests to reprint the Hofstadter essay in the most prestigious places. It is a brilliant essay on the origins of the American antitrust movement.

LaBerge: I didn't read that one, so I'm going to take it back and read it.

Cheit: The title is "What Happened to the Antitrust Movement?"

LaBerge: Interesting today with the Microsoft antitrust suit.

Cheit: Right. Well, his point is that the origins of the antitrust movement were more religious and social, than economic.

Henry Nash Smith, who was then chairman of the English department here, agreed to write about businessmen in American fiction. He wrote this sparkling essay which has been reprinted in various places.

His former student, and then professor at Princeton, Bill [John William] Ward, wrote on individualism. Is reality *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*? His title, "The Ideal of Individualism and the Reality of Organization," is a perfect title. That's a provocative piece. Paul Samuelson's essay was "Personal Freedoms and Economic Freedoms in a Mixed Economy."

Then I invited Bob [Robert] Heilbroner, who was then very splashy because he had just written "The Worldly Philosophers and the Future as History." He did a piece on what's happening to business ideology. I did a piece on why managers cultivate social responsibility. My piece was done on my first sabbatical; I'm jumping ahead here a little now. My first sabbatical was, I think, '63.

LaBerge: From '63 to '64.

Cheit: Yes.

Sabbatical in Geneva, 1963-1964

LaBerge: So right before this.

Cheit: Right. I wrote this piece while I was on sabbatical. Since you like layered history, let me jump around and tell you. Where to go on sabbatical was a question for me because as I think I may have told you, Andreas Papandreou, who was chairman of the economics department here and who was one of the two people who invited me to come here, by that time had decided to go back to Greece. His father had been prime minister. Andy went back to Greece and he wanted me to come with him. He wanted me to study the Greek social insurance system, which was a mess then and is a mess now. Recently when I told this to [Professor Steven] Steve Miller, who has the dig in Nemea, he said, "How I wish you had done something about the social insurance system then," because of the chaos he has in paying his people who are doing the digging for him.

June and I were discussing whether we should go to Athens. I decided that I didn't want to return to social insurance. I had gone to the business school, I was going to launch this field--that I ought to work on this project and not work on social insurance. We decided to take our four kids to Geneva [Switzerland] where they had pasteurized milk, you know? [laughs]

LaBerge: It's easier to live.

Cheit: Yes. So we went to Geneva. I thought of that now because my Ford grant provided enough money for a stipend to these people to write these essays. It also had enough money for me to have this conference, and if you read in the preface to this book¹ it has the names of the people who came to this workshop. As you can see here they came from all over the country.

We got to Geneva. I'll now take you on the trip.

LaBerge: Please do.

Cheit: We went via the *Leonardo da Vinci*. There was enough money in the grant for me to take all six of us to Europe on the *Leonardo da Vinci* to Naples. There we rented a car and toured Italy and eventually made our way to Geneva. The Swiss were very strict about who can live in their country. We were going to be there six months. I tried to rent a furnished apartment, but to do so you needed a permission slip from the immigration department.

LaBerge: Did you know this ahead of time?

Cheit: No. We were babes in these woods. I went to the immigration authorities and they said, "Well, what are you going to do here for six months?" I said, "I'm going to write." They were suspicious. They said that they wouldn't allow me to get a permit to rent a furnished apartment. We were in an inexpensive hotel, but we would have run out of money fast. I was really pretty desperate. They said, "You need a work permit. Whoever it is you're doing your work for, you need a permit. If you have a permit we'll give you the rental permit."

¹Earl F. Cheit, ed., *The Business Establishment* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964).

I knew the man who was running the Center for Industrial Studies in Geneva, a very respected business institute that does research and offers an MBA. The director was a man by the name of Paul Haeni, and I called Paul, and I knew him because he had visited me here. I told him my dilemma and he said, "I'll give you a work permit, but you're going to have to give me some lectures." So I ended up giving ten lectures. I ended up teaching a course at CEI, which I enjoyed a lot. They gave me a work permit; we got the apartment.

In my office in his institute and on our apartment's dining room table I wrote this essay. There's a lot more to say about Geneva.

LaBerge: Did you know either German or French?

Cheit: The short answer is no. June studied French while we were there, and her French is much better than mine. My French was terrible and hers was passable. I knew German from my childhood. We took the family to Vienna to hear some opera and we did some other traveling in Europe.

LaBerge: You had never been to Europe before, had you?

Cheit: Only once. I had gone to Europe to give a paper for an international organization on occupational safety. The paper was in Lyon [France]. That was my introduction to three-star restaurants. In that meeting I met one of the men I invited to be a commentator at the Ford conference, Gilbert Sauvage. So this was my second time in Europe.

More on the Multidisciplinary Conference, 1964

Cheit: When I came back we had this conference and it was a smashing success, if I may modestly say so myself [laughs]. You would enjoy these essays.

LaBerge: I started but I didn't read all of them. But I now want to read the one on antitrust.

Cheit: I recommend it highly.

The conference was a big success and a lot of fun as well. It just sparkled with ideas and where one could go with those ideas. Each of these men came and presented his paper and then there was a long opportunity for discussion. That's how I got to know all these good people. Dick Hofstadter is dead, Henry Nash Smith is dead. Bill Ward went on to become president of Amherst [College] and died at a very young age. Bob Heilbroner is still alive as are Paul Samuelson, Philippe de Woot and Gilbert Sauvage.

LaBerge: I think you said something to me about how this changed business education or it launched a new field.

Cheit: It really did. This sounds sort of self-serving, but it's true. It launched a lot of research and instruction. If one followed the work of the people who were invited to this meeting, you'd see their productivity in course work and publication.

LaBerge: Could you elaborate more on that for a non-business person? Is it that it was multidisciplinary?

Cheit: Yes. It essentially was multidisciplinary, and it introduced a set of issues that heretofore had not been introduced certainly at the undergraduate level in business education. The way to think about this is the following: there are surveys that ask top executives and frequently CEOs--chief executive officers--what they do and how they spend their time. When you ask that question of chief executive officers today what you find is that consistently they say they spend the majority of their time dealing with government, dealing with regulatory agencies, dealing with politicians, dealing with the political process, dealing with communities, dealing with state government, dealing essentially with the political, legal, and social environment. And either they're fending them off or they're cultivating them or they're building relationships in the community. So the reality is if executives are spending more than half their time dealing with the larger social, political and legal environment, how can we send our students out without introducing them to what those environmental issues are? That led to one of my colleagues who is now dean at St. Mary's, Ed Epstein, to a productive line of research.

LaBerge: I don't know him, but I read his articles in the paper.

Cheit: He did some fine work on business and the political process. He illuminated the influence of political action committees by unions and by corporations and showed how they influence the political process.

Eventually, as happens frequently in multidisciplinary kinds of issues, people say, "It ought to be in every course and not just in a course by itself." You run into the same argument about where to present international economics and international finance and international marketing. Some say every course in economics ought to have an international component and every course in marketing ought to have an international component and every course in finance should have an international component. The same is said about these courses in business environment.

Ewald T. Grether

Cheit: Now you asked about "Greth." He was very much a presence here when I came to this school. How long was he dean? About twenty-three years?

LaBerge: Twenty-some, anyway. [1941-1961]



Two business school deans emeriti: Ewald T. Grether, Earl F. Cheit, ca. 1985.

Cheit: He was really a remarkable man, because he was a very hands-on dean. In those days he hired people. He hired me--which is not to say he went up to me and said, "You're hired." He identified me and then got my papers and put them through a process. Today the dean doesn't play that direct a role. Groups of faculty in specializations go to the academic meetings and they look at who the new young Ph.D.'s are, and then they invite them out to give a paper. Only after the process has advanced quite a bit does the dean get involved.

Greth hired a lot of the faculty here. He hired Van Kennedy and Joe Garbarino. He went to the meetings, he identified the people. He was very much admired and in many respects loved. He remained active.

I had a *great* satisfaction involving Greth. When I became dean I started raising endowed chairs. That had not been done before. One of my first was the Grether Chair. We raised the money for the Grether Chair in marketing, which was his field. By this time he had retired, of course. But he was still active. He co-taught a course for a while, and then worked on his oral history for years and years. We had a large reception in the Great Hall of the Faculty Club to announce the Grether Chair, and to announce the first person appointed to it: Greth. We appointed him to his own chair for a brief period.

Greth continued to do research well into his retirement. He really had a remarkable career, and was a terrific person. By the way, Greth was born the same year this school was born: 1898.

LaBerge: When it was the College of Commerce?

Cheit: Right. He once told me that his goal was to live in three centuries, but he didn't quite make it. I thought of that when 2000 rolled around. He fell short just a few years.

LaBerge: Was he responsible for--for instance, when you first were a professor in business, where was the school? I don't think Barrows was finished yet.

Cheit: South Hall. We were in South Hall and people had offices all over the place. Some had offices in Dwinelle. But the offices of the School of Business were located in South Hall. Barrows was being built. At that time--it's one of the interesting little bits of history here--it was said, and I phrase that carefully because I don't know firsthand--"It was said"--that the school had the option of getting its own building or sharing with other social sciences. Grether chose to go in with the other social sciences in the belief that we should be part of the social sciences and because he was assured that we'd get more than 100,000 square feet. We ended up in Barrows Hall with 55,000 square feet. So from the beginning, from day one, like moving into your new home and finding out it's about half as big as you thought it was going to be, Barrows was a big disappointment and a source of trouble from day one.

Just to finish out this story, when I became dean in 1976, one of the first things I did was to set up a committee to analyze our space situation, our space needs, and what it would take for

us to have a building. Fred Morrissey, a very fine professor of finance, now emeritus, was chairman of that committee.

LaBerge: We'll come back to that in 1976.

Cheit: Oh, yes. We will indeed. Because just to finish the thought here, I went then in 1976 and paid a visit to a famous alumnus, Walter Haas, class of 1910. I had a meeting with him and his two sons.

LaBerge: This is Walter Haas, Sr.?

Cheit: Yes, the man after whom the school is named. He was still chairman of the board. I met with him and Wally--Walter Haas, Jr.--and Peter, two of his three children. Rhoda [Haas Goldman] was not present. I met at the Levi Strauss offices which were then on the Embarcadero. I raised with him the need for a new business school. He knew about our space needs. He was chairman of the school's first advisory committee. Walter Haas and Grether were very good friends.

More on the Sabbatical

Assassination of President Kennedy

[Interview 7: August 4, 2000] ##

LaBerge: Last time we talked a little bit about your sabbatical in Geneva, but you thought that you would have more to say on it, particularly what was happening in the United States at that time.

Cheit: Well, I was on sabbatical supported in part by a grant from the Ford Foundation, and the Ford Foundation asked me to come to a conference in New York, and so I left my family in Geneva and flew to New York. I was in New York City on the day that President [John F.] Kennedy was assassinated, and I learned of it in a meeting, in New York, just as we were recessing. I was catching an evening flight back to Geneva, and I scooped up all the newspapers that I could, knowing that June would want to see them. I came with this armload. At that time, New York had more dailies than it does now, and it was a very troubling flight.

LaBerge: Did you know he had already died?

Cheit: Yes, yes.

LaBerge: Because I remember first the announcement came over and we weren't sure.

Cheit: No, we knew. But it was harder on June who was feeling kind of isolated. And so when I arrived we talked and talked and talked about whatever everybody talked about. We had received an invitation from the embassy--apparently the embassy has a Thanksgiving party and invites the ex-pat[riate] community from Geneva. Of course, it didn't occur. This was the 23 of November.

LaBerge: In 1962, is that--or '63?

Cheit: '63, I think it is. They organized a service for President Kennedy in the cathedral in Geneva that makes me teary-eyed just to recall.

LaBerge: Oh, it makes me teary, too--I remember--I think everybody remembers what they were doing.

Cheit: Yes, and that service in that cathedral was so moving. There were many people there. The Swiss are fairly reserved, you know, but they were just wonderful. That was an indelible low moment of that period.

LaBerge: And hard to be away then, because here--

Cheit: Oh, yes. Right.

LaBerge: People were just gathered together, watched TV, and--

Cheit: Yes, we didn't have TV. Although I must say the warmth of the people there was really very reassuring and that service for him was absolutely stirring.

We stayed in Geneva until January. It was a half a year. At that time the sabbatical policy was a full year at half salary or a half year at full salary. I chose the half year so we could afford to live in Switzerland. The Swiss franc at that time was four to the dollar. Now, I haven't looked recently, but it's about 1.3 or 1.2. An academic with a modest salary could take a leave like this.

Anyway, we traveled. We went to Megeve to ski--turns out there wasn't much snow that year. We went to Vienna to hear some opera. And we did quite a bit of travel in the Swiss countryside.

Lectures at Centre Étude Industriel and Paul Haeni

Cheit: I think I mentioned that I agreed to do these lectures because I couldn't stay unless I had a work permit and therefore rent a furnished apartment. I probably did mention that I did this for something that was then called the CEI, the Center for Industrial Studies.

Anyway, its director was a man by the name of Paul Haeni, a very engaging and successful man who built that institute. And he had a winery--a family winery--between Geneva and Lausanne, on that sloping soil that goes down to the lake. He was a widower and he invited us one night--June, myself, and our four children--to come to dinner. He would fix his special fondue--cheese fondue--and show us around his vineyard.

And at that time he was producing only 3,000 bottles--just a very small vineyard. And the name of the wine is the name they have for that basket that people used to carry to put their grapes in, I think it's called la bolliattaz.

On the wall of this wonderful old building he had a chart that showed when this property was first identified in official Swiss documents. And I can't remember now, but it goes back something like seven generations. But the interesting thing was, it pointed out, [laughs] that the vineyard has never made money. It always lost money, and that as a result, it was always inherited by the daughters. That is, that they gave losing [laughs] propositions to the daughters, so this had moved through, I've forgotten, seven or eight generations of daughters. Paul had both daughters and sons, and I think the winery was about breaking even. We were kind of chiding him, asking who was going to be his heir? He's now deceased. I don't know what happened to the vineyard.

When we came back to California, we flew. We had toyed with the idea, if we had enough money, to come back by ship, but the north Atlantic in January is not a particularly appealing trip. And then when we got here, plunged right into our life. I started teaching again, June picked up her role in running our household, and the kids went back to school.

Children and Parents Learning French

LaBerge: Where did your children go to school when you were in Geneva?

Cheit: They went to the International School. Kindergarten through high school are separate schools, but it's all part of the same structure. We got a volume discount because we enrolled four children. [laughs] And it's an international school. There was a lot of French instruction, but the main language of instruction was English.

And they did well. Our kids learned French. Our youngest, Julie, did very well. And we have some tapes of family gatherings in which she would sing French songs.

One of the running jokes of the family was my inferior French. June took lessons. She had a tutor and so she did fairly well. But it's very intimidating of course, and the rest of the kids started picking it up. I knew grocery store French so one of the running jokes in the family was my atrocious French. In order to have a little fun about that, the last night we were in



Cheit family at Lake Tahoe, 1965. L-R: Budd, Julie, Wendy, Ross, June, and David.

Geneva, we went to our favorite restaurant, a neighborhood restaurant where they served very good entrecôte and frites.

I had arranged with the owner to have a message delivered to me during our meal. He arrived with an urgent message for me. The message begged me to stay on to help with French instruction at the CEI [laughter] because they had students from all over the world. And actually the joke worked for at least a few minutes. Our kids were puzzled: "How could they make such a *stupid* choice?" [laughs]

So we came back and plunged into our Berkeley life.

LaBerge: So shall we go on then to the business school?

Cheit: Sure.

LaBerge: Okay. Well, let's see. We started talking about some of the courses. We talked about your experimental course.

Cheit: And the conference.

Faculty in the 1960s; Student Ratings

LaBerge: So we've covered that fairly well. What about the business school in general? Maybe you could contrast what the core courses are--what then, compared to now, or what the environment was then. I know that there was rivalry between the business school and the economics department. Or things like that. Or the personalities. Grether wasn't dean then. He stepped down in 1961.

Cheit: So then it was [John] Cowee, yes.

Well, I'll kind of freely respond. The atmosphere in the business school was very good. I think Grether had set a very good tone, and Cowee, like every dean, was admired when he did things the faculty liked and was admired less when he didn't. But we always got along very well and I thought he did a good job.

The business school offices at that time were located in South Hall. And we moved into Barrows. It was in the mid-sixties when Barrows opened [1964] and we moved in. Many faculty members had offices in Wheeler.

As for the economics department, at one time it was part of the business school and then it split off. Eventually the business school started recruiting economists, so you had a certain

amount of rivalry or tension, but it wasn't very profound. It didn't affect me. I didn't feel it particularly. There was always a very good spirit in the business school.

You know, the people in my generation that Grether hired were very good people. If you go through some of the names, Sherman Maisel, Joe Garbarino, Van Dusen Kennedy, and of course Clark Kerr was on our faculty, although then not very active. Art Ross, David Alhadeff, you know, Dow Votaw, and Maurie Moonitz, Larry Vance--people who were really giants in their field. I'm sure I'm doing an injustice to others by unintentional omission here, but those were some of the important names in the work in the school. The school was very productive. These were high-producing faculty members.

LaBerge: And by that do you mean in their research and publications?

Cheit: Right. The business school has always taken teaching seriously. I was pleased that the business school was, if not the first, was one of the first, to start with student evaluations of teaching. This was long ago. It's now standardized around the campus. Also, the business school, to my knowledge, was first in making the results available to students. The student lounge had a notebook of the ratings by instructor of the previous year. This is not to say that every faculty member liked that, but it was evidence that the school took teaching seriously.

Changes in 2000: E-Commerce

Cheit: When you ask about the business school then and now, we're talking about almost a half century. In some ways, there is a superficial similarity. If you look at the broad fields of finance, there was then a finance field: accounting, marketing, and if you look at just the names of the fields, there's a superficial similarity. But if you look at the content of what is taught in finance today and what was taught in finance then, the difference is day and night. And that's true in all the fields.

The other difference is all the changes that have happened in the world that are reflected in the curriculum. One of my colleagues who has been overseeing the work in e-commerce here observed that we offer twenty-six different courses dealing with some aspect of e-commerce.

LaBerge: Wow. Who is this?

Cheit: It was the last *Cal Business* [Spring 2000]. Let's see. [Looking for magazine] It's a faculty member I actively recruited. Michael Katz. There's a picture of him in the last *Cal Business* and he has taken over a role overseeing some of this work, or much of this work and he comments that he was stunned to discover twenty-six.

[reading] "Michael Katz has been appointed by Dean Laura Tyson to head the Haas School's e-business initiatives: 'When I accepted my new position I was stunned to learn that

we already offer *twenty-nine* elective courses that offer students insight on how they need to operate in this new infrastructure, including: internet strategy, information technology, real estate industry, e-health, new venture finance, information technology and management strategy, managing in a digital age.” I was understating it. [laughter] Anyway, so the changes are really profound.

LaBerge: Well, I was thinking of fields like English or history that don't change the way this probably does.

Cheit: I am not so sure about English departments. Their critics say the curriculum down-plays the canon and emphasizes deconstruction and what's now called post-colonial studies. There's a lot of political science of a sort taught in English departments. But you're right, the subject matter has not changed in a similar way.

Student Journal Writing as a Pedagogical Tool

Cheit: Speaking of the English department reminds me of one of the things I did when I taught Econ 1-AB in the economics department. At that time, Josephine Miles was a giant in the English department here, although a very small frail woman in a wheelchair. She had such an energetic, fertile and far-reaching mind. She had launched an initiative to improve the writing of freshmen. She was looking for people around the campus to cooperate with her. I had gotten to know her, I think through Henry Nash Smith. We became good friends and I became a big fan of hers. So I signed up to have my Econ 1-AB classes participate in her program, which meant that the students had to do a lot more writing.

I'm not saying that all the students were thrilled about this, but their prose was evaluated by an English TA and the content by an econ TA. I did that all the time that I taught Econ 1-AB, and I learned how valuable that was. TA's reviewed the writing with the students. The experience influenced my teaching. I required students to maintain journals when I taught undergraduates in the business school in recent years. And that worked very well. These are not personal journals, no.

LaBerge: That's what I wondered.

Cheit: I would lay out certain themes that we were going to develop in the course, and then I told them to read the business press and to pick up relevant examples. The issue might be corporate takeovers, or an ethical issue. They identified current examples and put them into a context, related them to the reading. I found that to be an extremely valuable pedagogical device. Indeed, when I won the Academic Senate Award for teaching, they ask you to write something about your methods. I mentioned this at some length. Recently they published a little book using the statements made by the award winners.

LaBerge: The Academic Senate has?

Cheit: No, it's the group that--it's the--

LaBerge: Distinguished Teaching Award committee or something?

Cheit: Well, it's not the committee, but the vice chancellor for student affairs, Barbara Davis.

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Cheit: It was under her auspices that the distinguished teaching award was administered and I think was her department that put this book together.

LaBerge: Okay. Well, in assigning this to your students, did you look at them, did you correct the journals?

Cheit: Oh, yes. And I had teaching assistants work with me as well, yes.

LaBerge: So they had assignments weekly in this?

Cheit: They had to turn them in on a regular basis. Yes. Anyway, Jo Miles was the association. The English department led me down this path.

Courses in the Undergraduate and Graduate Schools of Business

LaBerge: Oh, that's great. What about at that time, say, in the sixties, was there a core curriculum for business students?

Cheit: Yes, there was. As you know, the business school is the business *schools*. When I was dean, I used to explain to people that I was dean of the schools of business--we are both an undergraduate school and a graduate school. The school of business in the university hierarchy is a two-schools department. We are actually a Department of Business. The department has two schools in it, but we are governed in the department. Now this is all kind of arcane stuff, but it relates to your question about the core.

There was an undergraduate curriculum--you know, we're an upper division undergraduate school; an MBA program; and a Ph.D. program. Since the 1970s we have had a part-time MBA program.

There is a core in the undergraduate curriculum and in the MBA program. Are we doing the right things in the core? I would say that it changes quite a bit, but again, the titles look somewhat similar.

LaBerge: And what did you teach besides your Social and Political Environment of Business?

Cheit: Well, I taught two or three courses. I taught what was called Social and Political Environment of Business. It eventually became Business and Public Policy. And I taught in the industrial relations group. I taught an introductory industrial relations class, I taught a labor law course, and I taught a labor economics course. My work, you know, when I came here, was very heavily in labor economics and social legislation. I taught one course from time to time in social insurance.

Emily Huntington, whose name I have mentioned, was professor of economics. She taught a social insurance class from time to time in the econ department and I taught either that class or one with the same title in the business school and I did some cooperative work with her. A woman I admire immensely. She was a very important figure in social insurance.

Professional School vs. the Arts

LaBerge: What about the issue between being--and maybe it's not an issue, but I don't understand it quite, but being a profession versus being an academic subject?

Cheit: Well, that's always an issue with professional schools--particularly professional schools whose subject matter includes work from arts departments. And a business school is the prime suspect here. But that's true of engineering, although to a lesser extent--and chemical engineering. The issue comes up in different ways. Inside the university it comes up in appointment and promotion. In a place like Berkeley where review by your peers and the Academic Senate is so crucial that [with an] appointment of, say, an economist who does a lot of mathematical work, what happens is that in the Academic Senate committees, these appointments are sometimes judged on the criteria of an arts department. They are inclined to say, "Well, this is applied stuff," or, "Its use of the theory really isn't as sophisticated as we expect in our department." And so there's a certain amount of tension that comes up that way.

When I was dean, I had it in various cases that I tried to either get appointments or promotions. That problem has diminished as other parts of the university have come to understand that a professional school is not the same as an arts department.

Business as a Social Science

Cheit: However, you want people to be competent in their field. Ideally what they do is to apply the theory and analyze real world situations and cases. For many years the business school at Berkeley was much more of a kind of applied social science department than it was a

professional school. I think that that reflected the point of view of Grether, who himself continued writing and publishing into his eighties. Grether was at home with real world problems. He was a very good friend of Walter Haas, Sr., the man after whom this school is named. He gave Haas advice on antitrust matters when Levi Strauss was having antitrust problems, and so Grether was very much at home with real world issues.

But he wanted this business school to be more of a social science school. A story told about Grether--I think correctly--is that when the Barrows Hall was being planned, the question was where the business school should be located. Grether later was quoted that he had a choice. It could either be in Barrows Hall with the other social sciences--with economics, political science, sociology--or it could be in a building by itself. He favored the decision that it should be in with the other social sciences.

This decision came back to bite him. He apparently had been promised about 100,000 or 125,000 square feet and the business school ended up with something like 55,000 square feet in Barrows, so we were terribly, terribly cramped. But to the main point of your question, Grether's vision of the business school was really an applied social science department. I think that is a fair way to put it.

Over the years, the professional aspect of the school has emerged in many ways. In student services, we have our own placement center. We pay for it out of our own hide, but we used to have to rely on the central campus placement facilities. We offer an executive education program, continuing education for managers. That started a long time ago. I think Dick Holton was probably dean when we started that program. But it's now an important part of the school. Our relationship with the business community is much closer today, not only through the advisory board, but through many institutes and centers that do research that are involved with the ongoing problems in the business world.

Differential Salaries

Cheit: And then you know, a contentious issue on the campus has been differential salaries.

LaBerge: Yes. I read one of your letters, a letter to the editor of the *Cal Monthly* [December 1999] that was on that subject.

Cheit: Oh, yes. Historically only the law school and the medical school had separate salary scales. When I came here, if you were an economist in the business school you were paid, at comparable rank, the same as that of an economist in the economics department, and in theory, at least, the same as a professor in the English department or even the physics department.

That has changed considerably, driven by the power of the market. There are certain fields which you couldn't staff, you couldn't hire anyone if you paid the same rate across the campus.

So to the chagrin of a lot of people in the humanities side of the campus, the fields in the most difficult markets are accounting and finance. I think it's fair to say that accounting is probably not held in highest regard by humanists, many of whom assume that it's a pedestrian activity. In fact, it's not. But you can imagine that it galls them to see that you have to pay an incoming assistant professor for accounting more than you do an assistant professor in most other fields in the university. I'm jumping way ahead here, but I want to note that when I became dean the first time, it was clear to me that the school had to have a separate salary scale.

If you know your University of California history, you know the law school got its separate salary scale by going to friendly regents and forcing it through the Board of Regents. It was a bloody mess because they got the regents to adopt it, but then they didn't participate in the Academic Senate. There was a period when they were outcasts on the campus. That's now all patched up and the law school is very deeply integrated in the campus, and they have their separate salary scale. We got a separate salary scale for the business school and--

LaBerge: How did you get it?

Cheit: Well, I guess by perseverance with--

LaBerge: With the regents?

Cheit: Yes. But first we went through the university, and then through the regents. The people in the university understood it. No one could deny the labor market realities. We joined with UCLA and eventually got a separate salary scale. That was in the late 1970s when this happened, that's almost a quarter of a century ago. What happened is that that salary scale eventually was overtaken by the market itself, so that issue still percolates.

But to go back to your question, the nature of the business school as a professional school is much more delineated today, not only because of salary and curriculum, but also by the services provided to students. I wrote an article on this topic some years ago.

Gordon-Howell Report on Business Schools, Post World War II

LaBerge: Well, even before you were dean, how did you see this happening, the business school separating from the social sciences?

Cheit: Well, what happened was this: business schools grew very rapidly after World War II. Two foundations, the Carnegie Corporation and the Ford Foundation, quite independently set up studies to look at business schools because of their explosive growth. Two reports were published--a Carnegie Report and a Ford Report. The authors of the Ford Report were Aaron Gordon, who was a faculty member here, and Jim Howell, who has just now retired as

Professor of Economics at Stanford who was here as a young faculty member. It was often called the Gordon-Howell report. And the Gordon-Howell report had big impact.

One of its main points was that business schools and particularly undergraduate schools had grown so rapidly and had become pedestrian; they had become vocational, offering a kind of vocational training. And in fact, the report encouraged universities to get out of undergraduate business education altogether.

Now when the Gordon-Howell report came out in 1959, Grether felt very confident about things here because the kind of indictment made of business schools didn't really apply to Berkeley. I've written quite a bit about that subject. UCLA used that report to eliminate--in quotes "eliminate"--their undergraduate school of business. They eliminated it as a school, though they kept courses. At Berkeley over a long period of time, the issue of whether we should eliminate the undergraduate school of business was debated.

Even as a newcomer here I weighed in very heavily on the side with the arguments that the curriculum here wasn't pedestrian. This was thanks to Grether's social science outlook. The undergraduate school here, as an upper division school, had very stiff requirements.

Then I felt, for lower division work of the students, we're a land grant institution and that the undergraduate school of business provided a very important avenue of upward mobility for our students. People ought to come to commencement for the undergraduate schools and see who the parents are. They are people, men who are very uncomfortable because they are wearing a necktie. These are lots of first generation college students--immigrants, sons and daughters of immigrants, many of them. I always felt that we were performing our land grant function.

The argument for eliminating the undergraduate school was really sort of snobbish. It was that you could concentrate more on graduate students and Ph.D. students and not have these large numbers. Actually we have a very small undergraduate school, just about 500. Either because I argued that point of view, or in spite of the fact that I argued it, we never eliminated the undergraduate school.

But the arguments in the Gordon-Howell report were legitimate. Calling something a professional school, doesn't give you the license to do pedestrian applied work.

The Haas School today differs from Grether's vision. He was a man of his times. If Grether were here today as a young vigorous person, he would probably be doing what the school is doing or some variant of it.

Thoughts on Rankings

LaBerge: How do you feel about ranking of business schools? Was it done then, and what effect did that have?

Cheit: There have been rankings for a long time and not much attention was paid to them. The rankings started to attract attention in the seventies. I think it was probably the late seventies when *Business Week* discovered that rankings were a wonderful circulation device. [laughter] A reporter once asked me, what did I think of the ratings?

And I said that I thought that as a circulation device, they were not as good as the swimsuit edition of *Sports Illustrated*, but much better than the list of "ten best dressed men." [laughter] And that's what they are. They're a circulation device, but they've had a lot of impact.

When I was dean, I never participated in them. I never submitted material. However, the feeling now is that you have to. But the point is that they are so superficial. Secondly, the difference between a school ranked number one and number five or number three is absolutely impossible to tell.

They used to do them based on dean's rankings, and I refused to participate on the grounds that I didn't know enough about the work of my own faculty to give a highly sensitive ranking. How could I rank Virginia and Illinois? I mean, this is all second hand reputational stuff.

The ratings now have become a bit more sophisticated. They get some student opinion and they look at certain things that they can "quantify" [quotes indicated], but they're still very superficial. There's a very close correlation between the size of budgets and the place in the rankings.

LaBerge: Okay. Well, we've talked about--how much time do you have?

Cheit: Well, another fifteen minutes?

LaBerge: Okay. Do you think we've talked enough about Dean Grether and what his influence had been? Because you spoke about him before, too.

Cheit: Yes. Probably. I would just say that I admired him immensely. He built the modern school--it was he that made the transition--this used to be called the College of Commerce and it was he who then made the transition to a business school and a graduate school. He was a man of high standards, a real academic. And I have abiding respect and admiration for him.

Looking for a Dean, and George Shultz

LaBerge: Now were you in on the choosing of the next dean?

Cheit: Well, the next--after Grether came John Cowee and I was not. Then after Cowee came Dick Holton, and when Dick became dean, what year was that?

LaBerge: 1967.

Cheit: Yes. When Dick became dean.

LaBerge: You were vice chancellor?

Cheit: I was vice chancellor, [laughs] and I--it's funny, last night, watching the Republican convention, and the night before I saw George Shultz there, former Secretary of Labor, Secretary of the Treasury--George Shultz was a labor economist who was dean of University of Chicago business school. I knew him quite well as a labor economist and I used to see him at meetings. When Cowee retired and before the search that led to Dick Holton, there was a committee that was doing its thing. I was executive vice chancellor at that point, and I gave George Shultz a call because I had read that he was rotating out of his deanship. He was still a young man at Chicago, and he was going to come out to the humanities center at Stanford.

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Cheit: And he said, "But I've been a dean of a business school, what else have you got?" So I said, well, we didn't have any other openings, but that if he was interested in being business school dean--. He said, well, he didn't think he'd want to be dean--that he enjoyed it a lot, but he'd do something different. But if we had something else to offer him, he'd be very interested in coming to work in the administration here. And so I told this to Chancellor Roger Heyns. George, you know, came out here and then he was picked, by [President Richard] Nixon, first, to become Secretary of Labor.

Anyway, he went. He left to join the Nixon administration. We've joked at various times about my call. And the interesting thing is, he once told me that of all the jobs he's had, and you know, when he left government, he came back and was president and CEO of Bechtel Corporation.

LaBerge: That right.

Cheit: He told me, of all the jobs that he had--as a CEO in industry, as a secretary I think with labor, treasury, I think--

LaBerge: Maybe Secretary of the State--was he Secretary of the State?

Cheit: State, yes. Yes! State, of course. Well, all those important posts, that being dean of a business school was the job he enjoyed the most. At the end of the day he had the most fun being dean of the business school.

LaBerge: So he missed his chance here. [laughs]

Cheit: That's right. In answer to your question about was I involved with Dick? Only in that I tried to find out if Shultz would put his name in the hopper.

LaBerge: How involved is the faculty of the school?

Cheit: Oh, very involved. Oh, yes, I'd say very. It's governed by the committee as a whole. I said we were a two-school department, but we meet--I don't anymore, since I'm emeritus--but we meet as a single department and vote as a department.

Center for Research in Management Science

LaBerge: Okay. Well, one other date I have down is that in '61 there was established the Center for Research in Management Science. Do you remember that, with C. West Churchman?

Cheit: Yes, West Churchman was its head and then Fred Balderston eventually took over.

LaBerge: And what can you tell me about that?

Cheit: Well, it was ahead of its time. Management science grew out of the use of computers in World War II and in the use of computers to make sophisticated decisions with many variables and under complex circumstances. To oversimplify in a way that would cause great pain to my colleagues in that field, there was the hope at one time that the application of mathematical rigor and computational power to the decision process could make it a center of business education because this field would demonstrate its value so greatly. And a lot of people thought so and a lot of good people did work in this field.

Like many other innovations, this one was shown to have value but it fell short of those expectations. The Center for Management Science did a lot of experimental work with decision-making. It had some very good people attached to it. Fred Balderston was one of them. And the center eventually evolved into the different center that we now have.

Placement Center in Barrows Hall

Cheit: [laughter] I'm chuckling because, jumping ahead quite a bit, when I became dean I very much wanted to have a student placement center. We were so cramped in the business school, but the Center for Management Science had offices in the basement--it's really the below ground floor there in Barrows--and so I decided that I would take that space and create a placement center for the students. Then I had to relocate the Center for Management Science. The only place that was available was the faculty lounge on the fifth floor. It's a beautiful space--westside, Bay view. I said that in the interest of serving students, that we had to give up that space. And I kind of pushed that through. People were grumpy at me for a *long* time about that. But we created the beginning of a very good placement center downstairs.

I hired a woman--those days the university wasn't nearly as bureaucratic as it is now--the wife of a journalism professor, Andy Stern.

LaBerge: Oh. Frances?

Cheit: No, Marylou Stern. She did freelance work in interior design and she designed the wall, the colors, and the wall coverings, and the layout--eventually the layout of that placement center. She did an excellent job with very little money.

LaBerge: Well, we'll go back to this when we cover your deanship.

Cheit: Yes. Right.

VII THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT, 1964

[Interview 8: September 20, 2000] ##

Setting the Stage

LaBerge: Okay, well, today we're going to start with the year 1964 and sort of set the stage for the Free Speech Movement. You had told me previously that you looked through your datebook for 1964 and realized all the things that you were doing.

Cheit: That's right. As I looked through my datebook for 1964--and by the way, I couldn't find my datebook for 1965--but I was amazed in going through '64 to recall how deeply immersed I was in the things that an active business school professor does.

LaBerge: And you had just gotten back from Switzerland?

Cheit: Right. I was on sabbatical. While I was on leave, I did some lecturing in Geneva, but the main thing I did was to write the article that was part of the conference--it was really a workshop--that I had scheduled in January, '64 and that eventually led to the book called *The Business Establishment*.

LaBerge: We talked about that in a previous interview, I think.

Cheit: Right. And so when I got back here with my family in January, we were a little grumpy because the guy who rented our house had said that he and his wife were coming here. He substituted for me in the business school. We were very generous with him. We let him use our car at no charge. We discovered that he moved a brother-in-law and his family--moved four other people into our house, and without paying us any additional rent. [laughs] So our homecoming had a little bit of a bump to it.

At any rate, we got back and I was immediately plunged into the academic year. I was teaching. I ran that workshop that we've talked about earlier. And then after it was over, started working on the articles--editing the articles for publication, which was sent off to the publisher in August of '64. I was not only teaching in the business school, but I was also teaching in the executive education program.

LaBerge: Was that at night?

Cheit: No, it was not. There was a man, now deceased, Eugene Burgess, who had been an executive of General Mills, a specialist in executive development, who the business school had hired. He ran our executive programs and they were conducted during the day here.

Academic Senate Special Scholarship Committee

Cheit: I was active in the Academic Senate Special Scholarship Committee. It was called SOS, Special Opportunity Scholarships, I think. Anyway, that committee has a very interesting history and some of the original members I think are still on it. I think Leon Henken from the math department was one of the original members; Al Pickerell, [from] journalism was on it; Owen Chamberlain from physics; and I was on it.

LaBerge: Is it something you volunteered for?

Cheit: The senate created it and so I think I was appointed to it by the Academic Senate. The senate created this committee as one of the responses to the kind of despair people felt when President Kennedy was killed. The committee was set up to create scholarships and to find money for these scholarships to take disadvantaged youth, particularly at the junior high school or maybe even at the freshman high school level, to bring them to the campus for intensive summer programs in math and English, and then to have continuing contact with them as they went through high school with the view to make them college-eligible--not necessarily at Berkeley. And as I look through my 1964 datebook, I am amazed how often we met and it was a very productive and, I must say, satisfying activity. It was something positive that we could do, what the energy released by these bad feelings could produce.

And I think I mentioned to you, I have on this office wall the plaque that they gave us in 1973, those of us who had served ten years on that committee on special scholarships. And I think if you look in the campus directory today--I know, because I still contribute to the Special Scholarship Committee--its role has evolved, it's broader: bigger and I'm sure, better.

LaBerge: It might have a different name. Do you think?

Cheit: Well, shall I look? [looking at campus directory] Well, it may be called Special Opportunity Scholarships. I'm not sure.

LaBerge: And would it be the same one that sort of got--it just got extra emphasis after Prop. 209 was passed?

Cheit: Well, it may have. It's in Stephens Hall. Let's just take a look in the--[looking it up]--well, let's see. Educational Opportunity Program. We should look it up to be sure. I know it exists because I contribute to it every year. [Professional Development Program]

LaBerge: Yes. Now for instance, there were young students at Haas Business School this summer. Would that program have the same purpose?

Cheit: There is in the business school another program, an outreach program for young entrepreneurs. It is called YEAH, Young Entrepreneurs at Haas. It's now a part of the Berkeley Pledge.

Other Activities in 1964

Cheit: Then I was still on the school board for Richmond--it's now the Richmond Unified School District. We had passed a bond measure. That hadn't been done for a long time in that school district and it was a huge--at that time--a huge amount of money. It was about \$7 million, I think. Maybe \$7.2 [million]. And for that amount of money, we built Kennedy High School, we built Juan Crespi, we remodeled Richmond High, and did work on other schools. All that activity for about \$7 million. My datebook says on May 26 we had the bid opening at the school district offices. And what a day, what a feeling of elation.

I was very active on the school board. I went to many school functions. I went to AFT--American Federation of Teachers--functions. I think I mentioned to you they had the most outstanding leadership that I can imagine a teachers' organization. A man by the name of Ben Rust, who I think I may have mentioned earlier, was a history instructor at El Cerrito High.

LaBerge: Is he the one who gave you the bear?

Cheit: Yes. Yes, he was a violin-maker. Whenever the AFT had important functions, I would try to go to them. I had so much respect for them.

And then I was still head of the Kensington Democratic Club. My datebook is full of the meetings of the KDC. I think I mentioned earlier that I did labor arbitration and that I was still arbitrating labor disputes. My datebook entries show various disputes that I went to arbitrate in Sacramento, Los Angeles, and around the Bay area.

I was also doing the things that a business school professor does. I gave talks to people who were interested in my research. On the campus I was associate director of the Institute of Industrial Relations during that time. My office, my main office, was at the institute which was on the second floor of California Hall.

An Aside on Re-doing California Hall

LaBerge: Rather than in Barrows?

Cheit: That's right. I had a Barrows faculty office. After Barrows opened I had a Barrows office, but I did all my work and my files and everything were over at the Institute of Industrial Relations. California Hall is a wonderful place. May I digress about California Hall?

LaBerge: Oh, sure.

Cheit: I may have told you this about California Hall--a wonderful building. It used to be where the president had his office--Robert Gordon Sproul. When I became executive vice chancellor, the chancellor's office was in cramped quarters in Dwinelle. It was really terrible space. The chancellor was in Dwinelle because when Clark Kerr was the first chancellor at Berkeley, he wanted to get away from Robert Gordon Sproul who was at that time in Sproul Hall, the new administration building. Chancellor Heyns and I resolved that we were going to get proper space for the Office of the Chancellor, and so we got money to redo California Hall. I never moved into California Hall but I had the great pleasure of being very active in its design.

LaBerge: You told me about making it more space--

Cheit: That's right. And one of the things about its design that I told you was that we had somebody figure out how large Clark Kerr's office was in University Hall and we made the office for the chancellor, in the same southeast corner of California Hall where Robert Gordon Sproul's office had been, and we made it a couple of feet larger. Just to symbolize that the chancellor of Berkeley was more important than the president.

LaBerge: You never got to--

Cheit: I participated in the ribbon-cutting ceremony, but I never had an office there. I rotated out of being executive vice chancellor on September 1, 1969.

LaBerge: Okay. You've done a lot of getting buildings built and then you never really got to use them! [laughter]

Cheit: That's right. Well, I got a lot of pleasure out of re-doing California Hall, though. I knew that building well because I'd spent a lot of time there at the Institute of Industrial Relations.

And, back to 1964, I did a lot of writing, and I did some book reviews that year. I was fairly active in campus governance. I was outside faculty representative to the School of Social Welfare. I used to go to their department meetings. And I was on the board of editors of the journal, *Industrial Relations*.

Campus Hearing Officer

Cheit: I also did things for the Office of the Chancellor. I was on a labor management committee, and for many years I was a campus hearing officer. This is a pro bono activity, and others

who were skilled as arbitrators did this. When people filed grievances, the case would go to a hearing officer.

LaBerge: These are employees?

Cheit: Yes, but I've done some for faculty members, as well. Those can be disagreeable activities, but I always felt since the campus permitted me to do professional arbitration on the outside, and be paid for it, that I owed the campus that skill. Over the years I did hearing officer work on many employee cases and still get requests to perform this service.

LaBerge: Any specific ones you remember that stand out?

Cheit: Well, one that stands out as the most sensitive for all the parties, although it really was a three-way case. They're still active in other departments on this campus and so I'd rather not identify them because these are highly confidential, unless the parties themselves make it public. But a lot of the cases were employees who were dismissed or felt they were denied promotion for inappropriate reasons--your typical labor grievances.

I noted that I participated in September in a conference on "Research needs in consumer economics." Emily Huntington, whom I've mentioned earlier, was the leader in that field, and I helped her and participated in her conferences.

And then, you know, we had four kids. And as I look through my datebook [laughs] I find there are baseball games, and there are other things--going to the Lair of the Bear with the family. But, to repeat, as I look through the whole range of things, 1964 was an enormously productive and active year for me. In August I got that manuscript off for the book on *The Business Establishment*.

Fall 1964: First Impressions

Cheit: And as I went about my affairs, I was aware in September when things started to brew. I'd read the *Daily Cal* from time to time, but not regularly. I became aware of what was going on, but I was only superficially aware of the police car incident. I assumed that Berkeley had a tradition of radical student politics and that this was just another episode.

LaBerge: Yes. Would part of it be a difference in the students you taught? Would your students have been involved?

Cheit: Probably not. In fact, not only were they not involved, but I remember an incident that I may or may not have told you earlier when some students called for a strike. It was supposed to be a general strike of all students. I was teaching at the time and was giving a test. A student finished the test and then came up to me with a piece of paper and said, "This is an excuse from Cowell Hospital. I'm in Cowell Hospital, but I came here even though I'm supposed to be in bed there because I didn't want you to think that I was on strike." He took the test and then

went back to Cowell Hospital. We may have had a handful of students who were involved, but very few.

And then as I'm sure you know, in October, as things heated up, there was a big negotiation on October 2.

LaBerge: Before you go there, would you just say in your own words what you thought the issues were? Why were students protesting?

Cheit: Oh, I had only a fumbling grasp. My perception of it at the time was roughly right, that the protestors wanted to be able to conduct political activity on campus and were being either denied or circumscribed in their right to do so. But I didn't know the details, and of how it was later perceived as a revocation of their rights to have tables. So I guess I'd say I had a fumbling grasp of what the issue was.

LaBerge: And in general would you have supported their right or been opposed?

Cheit: Well, I voted for the December 8 resolution, although I argued and voted against part of it-- that having to do with the Academic Senate doing student discipline, which was a terrible idea. I did vote for the December 8 resolution and by that time, by December 8, I really knew the issues. And so I think I might have been favorably disposed to the students but not in any militant or active way. I was politically active when I was a student at the University of Minnesota. But I did things off the campus more than on the campus.

LaBerge: Right, and you were politically active, period.

Cheit: Yes. So the use of the campus for organizing, which was what this was really about, was not an issue that I was familiar with at Minnesota as a student and I guess not until later did I really begin to understand the rule here about off-campus speakers having to get permission. In retrospect that seemed sort of out of touch with the evolving times.

Reflections on October 2 Negotiations

LaBerge: Okay, well, I interrupted you there. You were going to talk about the October 2 negotiations.

Cheit: Well, I won't try to recapitulate what happened on the plaza, because that's well known and I'm sure covered in many places, but as the situation heated up on the campus, there was on

October 2, I know that date because I looked it up, the meeting at University House on the campus.

You know, let me go back to September--did I mention the orientation meeting?

LaBerge: You didn't mention it on tape.

Cheit: No, okay, well, in September, the vice chancellor for student affairs, a man by the name of Alex Sherriffs, called me and said that there was going to be a student orientation and that the chancellor and various administration officials were going to talk to the new students--just as we've been hearing outside our window here [laughter]. [Dean Laura Tyson is talking to business students in an orientation meeting and here it is September 20 that we're speaking; that was September 14.] [phone interruption]

LaBerge: You were telling me what you did in September 1964--you gave a talk to students.

Cheit: Vice Chancellor Sherriffs called me and said that Chancellor Strong and various members of the university community were going to be welcoming new students and there'd be about 3000 students in Dwinelle Plaza and would I be willing to say something. My topic as I have it in my datebook here, is to speak three to five minutes on "academic traditions at Berkeley." And so as a matter of fact, I can remember doing that quite vividly, and it was a lot of fun. That was September 14. And I think if you went back to a day-by-day reconstruction, I think things were already heating up.

LaBerge: That's right.

Cheit: It was a very respectful and interested group of new students. I remember telling them a bit about Cal's traditions, and that when they go home for Thanksgiving, they'll be asked what their major is; I told them to be prepared for that question and not feel that they have to have a major--they're here to grow, experiment and learn. And I used the advice Jacques Barzun gave freshmen: that by their sophomore year they should know that *King Lear* is not about a well-adjusted man, that *Madame Bovary* is not about the judicious use of leisure time, and that the *Iliad* is not about world peace.

LaBerge: That's good.

Cheit: Jacques Barzun is in his nineties now and he's just written a book about the twentieth century, which is kind of grumpy because he thinks it's taken an uncouth direction in recent decades. He was dean at Columbia and gets the credit for Columbia never dumbing down the curriculum but remaining serious about classical studies. I certainly hope I gave him credit. [laughter]

And I started to mention that things then heated up and took the course that people know. On October 2, there was a much publicized negotiating session--at which I was not present--at University House. President Kerr was there and there were various student leaders, a representative of the interfaith council, and nine spokesmen for the demonstration. They

reached a six-point agreement. I won't try to recapitulate it--it's printed in that *Cal Monthly* summary of all these events--but point two of the six-point agreement said, quote, "A committee representing students, including leaders of the demonstration, faculty and administration will immediately be set up to conduct discussions and hearing into all aspects of political behavior on campus and its control and make recommendations to the administration." And then there was a statement about how the people were going to be chosen.

Appointment to the Robley Williams Committee

Cheit: The administration chose Robley Williams, a distinguished virologist, to be chairman, a wonderful man and great scholar, now deceased. In addition two members of this group were to be chosen by the Academic Senate's Committee on Committees. And the Committee submitted the names of Sandy Kadish, of the law school, and myself. We agreed to serve.

LaBerge: So of the faculty there were just you, Sanford Kadish and Robley Williams?

Cheit: No, no, there were others.

Membership of Committee in Dispute ##

Cheit: Ted Vermeulen, of chemical engineering. Joseph Garbarino, professor of business administration, and Henry Rosovsky, professor of economics and who subsequently went to Harvard. The students had the ASUC president, Charlie Powell, and Marcia Bratten. And two additional student members represented the demonstrators.

LaBerge: Okay.

Cheit: And I see in this summary [*California Monthly*, February 1965] that then there was a protest immediately that Chancellor Strong had acted unilaterally. They said that President Kerr had agreed to accept recommendations of the demonstrators then failed to do so. So I think they added some more student members. Yes.

I was appointed on October 6 and we had a meeting October 7. At the October 7 meeting, ten FSM [Free Speech Movement] spokesmen appeared and condemned the committee as illegally constituted and asked it to disband and left. Following a three-hour session minus FSM representatives, the committee decided it would hold a public hearing. And we did.

On October 13, the study committee held its first public meeting at 7:30 p.m. in Harmon Gymnasium. Approximately 300 students attended. The committee heard from fifty students,

all but one of whom stated that the committee was illegally constituted and should disband. [laughs] So we were very popular. Then we get to the wheels within wheels. Professor Art Ross, who was director of the Institute of Industrial Relations and chairman of the Committee on University Welfare, met with the FSM steering committee and he said he would take up on behalf of the Academic Senate's Committee on Welfare their point of view to modify the interpretation of the October 2 agreement.

After more meetings there was a new agreement between Strong and Kerr and the study committee. The new agreement was that the study committee would be expanded from twelve to eighteen members. The new members included two faculty members named by the Committee on Committees--that was ourselves--two members to be named by the president to represent universitywide administration, and two members initially assigned to them to be named by the FSM steering committee. The committee would hold two to three public hearings and finish its work within three weeks and that there could be silent observers and silent attorneys. The findings and recommendations were to be made by consensus.

First Amendment Issue

Cheit: The Committee on Student Political Activity soon came apart. We had a number of public hearings and various private meetings and if you go through the details now, what you find is that the impasse occurred as early as November 8. And one entry in this chronology says that the Committee on Campus Political Activity reached an impasse over its first resolution.

Frank Kidner, vice president, who was one of the additional people put on the committee, introduced a motion saying, "If acts unlawful under California or federal law directly result from advocacy, organization or planning on the campus, the students and organizations involved may be subject to such disciplinary action as is appropriate and conditioned upon a fair hearing as to the appropriateness of the action taken." And then there was a big debate between Frank Kidner and Mario Savio. Kidner's amendment failed.

What this reveals is a crucial technical issue: whether or not the university had a disciplinary role, in the event of students organizing on campus, and organizing on campus for actions off campus that are illegal, and whether the advocacy and the organization of such activities on the campus should be subject to discipline even though advocacy of some illegal actions is in itself permissible under our First Amendment rights. And so all of us became big First Amendment gurus. Not all advocacy, not all speech is protected. You know, the famous shouting, "Fire," in the crowded theater is not protected speech, but how about saying, "Let's organize and go down and sit in and block entrance to the *Oakland Tribune* because it's run by people who are opposed to civil rights?" And then they go block the entrance to the *Oakland Tribune* and then are arrested. Should that action be subject to discipline on the campus? That became a crucial issue. Frank Kidner's proposed amendment to the report of our committee failed.

LaBerge: Because he was proposing that it was subject to university discipline?

Cheit: Precisely.

LaBerge: I think I read someplace that you tried to temper that.

Cheit: Yes. And the *Cal Monthly* account says that Sanford Kadish offered a substitute amendment that failed by one vote, which defined the notion of collective responsibility and incorporated into general law the problem of responsibility. [laughs] I mean, it wasn't as clear as it might have been.

LaBerge: Yes.

Attempts at Compromise

Cheit: Then the summary says, "When it was obvious the committee could not reach agreement, Professor Cheit proposed the committee--." I'm reading from the summary a paragraph [how about that?] [laughter] "Professor Cheit proposed the committee report agreement on points two through seven of the faculty recommendations, and that the students and the faculty prepare a statement of the nature of their differences [on those items] and present it to Chancellor Strong."

Then it says, "Mario Savio agreed to make the disagreement public, but...he did not agree that point one was the only point of disagreement. It was agreed that no action would be taken until everyone agreed. And the meeting was adjourned." And then the next day, the Free Speech Movement issued a statement saying, " 'We're deadlocked and our position is clear--it's one that the ACLU upholds and that it's unacceptable--the proposals are unacceptable. It would limit students' civil rights.' "

The next day Chancellor Strong issued a statement saying, "If the FSM returns to direct action tactics, this is a breach of the agreement of October 2. Because the agreement of October 2 said there would be no more direct action--." I should read that for the record there. [flips through pages] And the agreement of October 2 said--sorry this is--one of the points of the October 2 agreement was that--

LaBerge: One of the problems with that is it really gives you minute-by-minute coverage.

Cheit: Right. Yes. That is a problem. [laughter] Anyway, that they would not take direct action while this process was going on. And so then the chancellor said, well, if they took direct action, that this would violate the October 2 agreement. And then the faculty members of the Committee on Political Activity, of which I was one, of course--we ran an ad in the *Daily Californian*, saying that, "It's our belief that substantial progress has been made, and that will continue to be made so long as no action is taken which jeopardizes the continuation of the

good work of our committee." And "we call upon the FSM to abide by the terms of the agreement."

There was a big rally that day in which Mario Savio said the FSM could not accept the administration's demand that the university had jurisdiction over the legality and appropriateness of off-campus political activity, and so essentially without going into still more detail here, the point is that the Committee on Campus Political Activity fell apart.

On November 10 various faculty representatives met to say what the situation was when the committee fell apart: "Negotiations deadlocked on the question of the authority of the university to discipline for on-campus conduct that results in off-campus law violation...Professor Cheit, of Business Administration, said we were very concerned lest the committee go out of existence when we were so close to agreement." We agreed on many of the points. Then we gave a report to the chancellor and President Kerr and released our report.

And there's a full text here which I won't repeat, but there were two parts. The crucial question here is that "on-campus advocacy organization, or planning of political or social action...may be subject to discipline where this conduct directly results in judicially-found violations of California or federal criminal law, and the group or individual can fairly be held responsible for such violations under prevailing legal principles of accountability." So that was really a very circumscribed statement.

Then we also recommended that, "Room should be made available for meetings of off-campus groups in the student office building, scheduled for completion next semester." And then we said, "The experimental use of the Sproul Hall steps and adjacent area as a Hyde Park area should be discontinued."

Anyway, the campus was heating up. Our recommendations were overshadowed because discipline had been imposed on these six or eight students, and then the senate had appointed a committee, the Heyman committee. It eventually recommended that the students not be disciplined. And then there was the further direct action and eventually the events that led up to the December 8 resolution.

Personalities and Symbolism

LaBerge: Well, before we get there, could you just talk about some of those meetings and what the feeling was in the meetings and what some of those exchanges were like between you and FSM students, other students, you and other faculty? I mean, were you and the other faculty in agreement?

Cheit: Largely. The faculty was pretty much in agreement. And the recommendation that we made I think was not bad even by today's standards. It would give them everything that they wanted.

But by this time, you know, there was so much iconography--you know, it was so symbolically imbued.

Yes, I remember those meetings well. Bettina Aptheker, who is now a faculty member at Santa Cruz, was pragmatic. It's so interesting because she later revealed that she was indeed a member of the Communist Party. It was always a big joke that the students were rebelling against their parents except Bettina [laughs] whose father, Herb Aptheker, was a big functionary in the party. But it was not surprising that she was a member of the Communist Party. They were pragmatic and disciplined people.

There were some people in that group who were highly ideological who began to see the possibilities of using conflict with the university as an organizing device. Some sensed what later became reality, and that the best way to organize students is to prod the university into a clumsy response that then creates a great sense of indignation and victimhood for students. It's a good way to gather recruits.

That lesson is a key part of John Searle's book on the campus wars about how this whole process worked. There were some people who saw this perhaps only dimly or maybe others began to see it more clearly--what a wonderful device this was to really have the argument and to have the university respond in some clumsy way, as in retrospect a lot of the university responses were.

So as to interaction with the students on the committee, it covered a range. I was a professor, and professors love students and care about them. So even the ones with whom we were arguing, I still had a kind of a good feeling about them.

Mario Savio was very smart, and generally speaking, in my experience he was a principled person. And as you know, he resigned from the FSM later on because he did not like the direction that the student movement took. But I thought he was smart and had a clear sense of the principle involved here.

As for the other leaders, it was a range. Jackie Goldberg--who I have run into once or twice in the last year--is a council member in L.A. She was a lot of fun. Very smart. And I thought a little more ideological than Mario Savio. I enjoyed dealing with her. There were some other people I enjoyed dealing with less who I found surly and combative.

An FBI Informant

Cheit: Let me at this point say something that I have never said before. Among the leaders of the movement, as it evolved after Savio had left it--one of the notorious leaders was an informant for the FBI. I was stunned to learn this much later, after I became vice chancellor, that the FBI always knew everything that was going to happen. It informed the campus police.

LaBerge: Never informed, or did?

Cheit: It did inform the campus police, but never revealed who the informant was.

LaBerge: Hm.

Cheit: Apparently the campus police did not know. But as we get into later years when there was real heavy activity and combat of various kinds, we knew what was going to happen. We often couldn't do much about it. And one of the quiet games that just two or three of us who knew this used to play was to guess, which one is it? To this day, I don't know.

LaBerge: Oh, you don't know?

Cheit: I do not know. I cannot reveal our Deep Throat. I don't know if it was our Deep Throat, but it was somebody's Deep Throat. No. I have guesses, but no knowledge.

LaBerge: Wow.

Cheit: [laughs] I feel like I've dropped a little firecracker--not a bomb but a firecracker into our conversations. That was not part of our current talks, but I didn't want to forget it.

LaBerge: Right. This person was in this movement anyway.

Cheit: Then became very visible later. Anyway, as we get to later years, I may share some speculation, because some information came from planning meetings where only four people were present.

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: Let's wait until we get there.

LaBerge: Well, the campus police let the chancellor know and the president know?

Cheit: Not the president to my knowledge.

LaBerge: Just the chancellor.

Cheit: We had a liaison with the campus police from our office. For a while--

LaBerge: Now you're talking about when you were vice chancellor?

Cheit: I jumped way ahead here, yes.

Administration's Clumsiness

LaBerge: Okay. Well, when you said a few minutes ago that maybe the university did act in a clumsy manner in some ways, which ways were you thinking of?

Cheit: Well, the administration issued those letters of discipline late in the series of events. The conventional wisdom today is that the issue had quieted down. It was the issue of those disciplinary letters that provoked it again. That was the first and probably the most significant acts of clumsiness.

LaBerge: And how did you view the administration's handling of it?

Cheit: Clumsy.

LaBerge: Clumsy. Which persons?

Cheit: Well, I never knew exactly how the decisions were made. I liked Ed Strong, I thought he was an honorable man, but he was in over his head here. But I didn't know the inner workings of his office.

LaBerge: You didn't know who told who what?

Cheit: No. But the imposition of discipline blew everything wide open again.

LaBerge: How about the dean's office?

Cheit: Well, I knew Arleigh Williams¹ and I knew Katherine Towle²--both very decent and student-oriented people that cared a lot about student life. I knew Arleigh better than Katherine, but it's hard for me to think of a person who identified more with student interest than Arleigh Williams. He's just absolutely a wonderful person.

LaBerge: He was the first person I interviewed twelve years ago, just on this subject.

Cheit: Well, you probably know a lot more than I do.

LaBerge: Well, I did then, but I've forgotten it! [laughs]

¹See Arleigh Williams, "Dean of Students Arleigh Williams: The Free Speech Movement and the Six Years' War, 1964-1970," an oral history conducted in 1988 and 1989 by Germaine LaBerge, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1990.

²See Katherine A. Towle, "Administration and Leadership," an oral history conducted in 1967 by Harriet Nathan, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1970.

Cheit: And you know, there's some revisionist history here about who said what to who and what the process was. I never knew. And I had no inside information. By the time I got involved, that was all overtaken by subsequent events.

LaBerge: Have you ever read David Lance Goines' book, *The Free Speech Movement*?³

Cheit: No.

LaBerge: Because you're quoted in there, and I just wondered if you had, what your reaction is.

Cheit: No. I assume I'm quoted favorably.

LaBerge: Yes, I mean, you're quoted. I'm not sure, I think verbatim.

Cheit: [laughter]

LaBerge: And commented upon. I just want to make sure we're okay with the time.

Cheit: Well, about five [minutes] more.

LaBerge: Okay. Well, you mentioned Ed Strong. What about Alex Sherriffs?

Cheit: I knew him only superficially. I'm jumping ahead now, but when I became executive vice chancellor, one of the first things I did was to relieve him of his vice chancellorship. We were at least superficially friendly.

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Cheit: He was an able man. And I think he had a good scholarly record in psychology, his field. My knowledge of him is superficial. There are a lot of things that have been said about him in retrospect and he comes off as kind of a heavy-handed person, but not from my personal observation and knowledge. My personal dealings with him were pleasant. But I did relieve him of his job and he wasn't surprised.

LaBerge: Yes.

³David Lance Goines, *The Free Speech Movement: Coming of Age in the 1960s* (Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press, 1993)

Cheit: We really had very little to do with each other. The woman who was the chancellor's secretary, Kitty Malloy, was portrayed as someone who concocted evil plots and so on. I have no knowledge of that.

President Kerr

LaBerge: What about President Kerr's involvement?

Cheit: Well, my knowledge here is flimsy, as well. I know what the public record says. I've read the draft of his memoirs in which he says how reluctant he was to get involved. When he became chancellor he wanted to get as far away from the president as possible and not have his actions second-guessed. So I would imagine that he didn't want to second-guess Ed Strong. After all, he had appointed Ed Strong. He only got involved when it became absolutely necessary, when he felt he had to, and his memoir--which I think is about to go to press--essentially makes that point. I have no other knowledge.

Academic Senate and the Committee of 200

LaBerge: How about the feeling in the Academic Senate? Was there a lot of argument or what was the feeling? Did people argue? Did you lose friends?

Cheit: Yes. Yes. There was a lot of argument. And as to losing of friends, I think that the bruised friendships occurred later when I was executive vice chancellor. At the time, when I was on the Committee on Student Political Activity and then later the Emergency Executive Committee--which we haven't come to yet--there was argument. There was an organized group called the Committee of 200. It was essentially the group of people who believed that the students were right on the merits and who were their faculty base. They included some able people, many of whom I knew, and two of whom I later hired when I became vice chancellor: Bob Cole and John Searle. They believed, on principled grounds, that the university was wrong. I think the committee included some people who were somewhat more ideological and who may have carried some feelings over from the oath controversy. To my knowledge that was the only organized faction in the senate.

The rest of us--there were people in the senate on the other side, who felt very strongly that these people were wrong. But to my knowledge there was no other organization in the senate.

LaBerge: Yes. Okay. Well, how about we end there and start next time with the December 8 meeting?

Cheit: Right.

Prelude to the Greek Theatre Meeting

[Interview 9: October 16, 2000] ##

LaBerge: Last time we started talking about the Free Speech Movement and we went through the beginning of your participation, sort of by accident. I can't remember if we talked about the meeting at the Greek Theatre, but I thought we'd start with that. You mentioned that you were in the audience. [December 7, 1964]

Cheit: That's right. Well, I think there's an antecedent to that meeting. We did talk about the Robley Williams Committee, and that I had been put on it by the Academic Senate. That committee broke up and I think I mentioned I issued a statement saying that we were so close [to agreement] that I regretted that the students walked out.

The issue there, I think we talked about last time, was a fine point about speech, which was, should the university acquiesce in rules that say that students can advocate, on campus, action off campus which may be illegal. The administration wanted to prohibit that. And you'll recall, I think, our last meeting I talked about how the committee had a split vote, but the faculty members supported the position that the university shouldn't try to prohibit that. So in essence we agreed with that major point.

Frank Kidner--President Kerr had nominated Kidner--was the systemwide nominee to the committee, and he was then a vice president. He introduced a motion in the Robley Williams Committee that would have prohibited that type of advocacy and organization, and that [motion] failed.

Now I mention that as background to what happened on December 7 in the Greek Theatre because with the Robley Williams Committee, now disbanded, and with the chancellor sort of discredited, there really wasn't a center of legitimacy. There was the Academic Senate and its Committee on Academic Freedom led by my colleague Joe Garbarino, preparing resolutions that eventually became the famous December 8 resolutions.

But the department chairmen gathered under the leadership of Bob Scalapino. Bob Scalapino was at that time chair of political science and a distinguished political scientist; his writings are mainly about Asia. He, and I don't know who else, organized the meeting. They had a set of principles that they all agreed on that should be followed for solving the crisis. Clark Kerr concurred with them. They were to be presented in a special meeting in the Greek Theatre.

Sitting in the Audience, December 7, 1964

Cheit: I went as an interested faculty member. By now, I had been kind of drawn into these matters because of my service on Robley Williams' committee and had a pretty good understanding of what the issues in dispute were. So I walked up to the meeting with some colleagues and sat in the audience.

There was a lot of tension in the air because whenever people gathered at that time, there was tension. But I remember Scalapino spoke. I can't remember other faculty speakers. Then Kerr spoke. And then after Kerr, Mario Savio walked out from the wings to ask to speak. He was stopped and he was dragged off the platform and back into the wings. There was a great uproar in the audience. And so what was supposed to be a meeting laying out principles on which the campus could move forward turned out really just to exacerbate tensions and bad feelings. It was really sort of a surreal experience.

LaBerge: I bet it was. You didn't know any of this was going to happen?

Cheit: No! No, I didn't know and I didn't know what Clark was going to say. I may have seen the principles in the *Daily Cal* or in a leaflet or something, but no. I was just one of the masses there in the audience. Anyway, it was a debacle. I've read various accounts about what instructions, if any, had been given the police and what they should have done or not done. The meeting organizers said, "We don't horn in on your meetings; you shouldn't horn in on our meetings." Anyway, it ended in uproar. And on the next day came the meeting of the Academic Senate.

Gathering of the Department Chairs

LaBerge: Okay. Now before you talk about that, I read somewhere that one of the criticisms of the department chairs getting together was that it was disrespectful to the Academic Senate. How did you view it?

Cheit: I wasn't sufficiently close to the senate leadership to know whether there was a feeling that the chairmen had tried to usurp the senate. That criticism may be accurate. Fairly or unfairly, some people assumed that Scalapino was running for chancellor. I heard that from people who were critical of that meeting. I have no evidence that that's the case. I have no evidence that it wasn't the case. [laughs] But Scalapino was a highly respected person. He might well have been considered for chancellor.

Changing Role of Deans and Department Chairs

Cheit: May I digress here just to make a point about the senate and deans and chairmen?

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: When I came to Berkeley in the late 1950s, deans, and to a lesser extent chairmen, were more important in the university for decision-making than they are today. They had more autonomy and they had more ability to initiate things for their school. Over the years the Academic Senate has acquired more power at the expense of the lower level administrative officers--the deans and the chairmen. As a dean, I struggled with what I saw as the large role of the senate, in purely academic administrative matters, for example, just getting a merit raise for a faculty member.

LaBerge: Now we're talking about the seventies?

Cheit: Yes, right. In '76 when I was dean, and I was dean a second time in the early nineties. But take something as basic as giving a merit increase to a faculty member. It wasn't enough that the school judged the faculty member--a dean wouldn't do that on his own; the dean would consult an internal committee--but instead of submitting that to the provost, and expecting review and a quick response, it goes to a committee of the Budget Committee [of the Academic Senate]. Then there's a delay and you may or may not hear for weeks or months and by the time you hear, that person has an offer somewhere else. It was excruciating.

Many people in my generation here were hired by a dean. Some of the leaders of this school, Van Dusen Kennedy, Joe Garbarino and others were hired by Dean Grether. I'm not saying that that's ideal, but the role of the dean has diminished.

LaBerge: I wonder if it started before this, or if this was the beginning of it.

Cheit: Well, it certainly was probably around the same time. Whether they're related or not, I don't know. Part of the diminishment has come because of new regulations on universities--regulations about affirmative action, regulations about equity, all sorts of regulations that now make universities more accountable and bureaucratic. But that isn't the only reason because Berkeley is much more bureaucratic than other campuses in the system.

Berkeley Campus Bureaucracy and Intercollegiate Athletics, 2000

Cheit: I have just finished--I'm digressing some more here--I have just finished serving as chairman of a confidential committee. I don't mind mentioning it because by the time this oral history is released, our report will be public knowledge. A group of us has been reviewing the budget of intercollegiate athletics.

LaBerge: That's right.

Cheit: Athletics is in a budget squeeze and the question put to our committee was what to do about it. And without going into detail, I want to say that one of the things that has hurt the Department of Intercollegiate Athletics, is the enormous campus bureaucracy.

For example, there is now an administrative committee that has to pass on licensing and logos. When you buy a Cal cap, the Department of Intercollegiate Athletics used to get the royalty. Then the royalties were split with the campus. Then a department was created and now it looks at all logos.

Well, if you've been to a football game or a basketball game, you know that intercollegiate athletics, to support itself, sells so-called sponsorships. They had a sponsorship--it was \$275,000 a year for four years, which would have made an enormous difference in their budget. It was from Enron, the energy company, which had a co-generation contract with the campus. The department sent it for approval and it was kicked around and kicked around between this committee and another committee. The issue apparently was the Enron logo. They could not get a definitive answer for approval, and it took so long that Enron changed its mind and withdrew. It was a source of embarrassment and a financial loss. This is just one example.

We point these out rather sharply in our report. It shows how bureaucratized the campus has become. Part of the diminishment of deans and chairmen is the bureaucracy. Sorry about the long digression.

President Sproul's Approach

LaBerge: No, that's wonderful because that's not written down anywhere, what you just said and your observations of that. I hope you'll come back to it more into your deanship if there's more of that.

Cheit: Okay. There is. You remind me here there used to be even much more flexibility for administrators. I don't recall whether earlier in this account I've told Milton Chernin's story?

LaBerge: I don't think so. You've mentioned his name, but I don't remember--

Cheit: Well, he was a very much loved figure on this campus and dean of social welfare. He once told a group of us how he knew he was going to become dean. He said that they were in California Hall at a meeting. He was on a committee and Robert Gordon Sproul's office was in that famous corner office we've talked about. The committee meeting broke up and they walked by Robert Gordon Sproul's door. And, as Chernin told it, Sproul yelled to him, "Chernin," and he had this booming voice as you, I'm sure, know.

Milton turned around and said, "Yes, Mr. President."

And he said, "How old are you?"

And Chernin said, "Thirty-six."

And Sproul said, "That's old enough to be dean." [laughs] And that's how he discovered that he was going to be dean of social welfare. Sproul just appointed him.

LaBerge: No consultations?

Cheit: Well, if there were, he didn't know about them. Not much process.

Academic Senate Meeting, December 8

Cheit: So the December 8 senate meeting had as its centerpiece the resolutions which now take the name of the date--the December 8 Resolutions. I went to the meeting. In fact I used to go to senate meetings very regularly.

LaBerge: And I see you looking at your datebook. I'm just getting to that part. [Looking at *California Monthly*]

Cheit: As I recall, the meeting was in Wheeler Aud and the Academic Senate resolutions were seen as putting the senate on record in support of what the students wanted to do. If you ask the person on the street or the faculty member who didn't read it, but heard about it, that's what the message was. And that was essentially true.

LaBerge: Who called the meeting? Joe Garbarino?

Cheit: Well, that's a good question. I believe it was a regular meeting.⁴ The senate met about monthly.

LaBerge: Okay.

⁴The FSM chronology of December 5, 1964, states that the Academic Senate was "scheduled to meet to consider its Committee on Academic Freedom's recommendations to end the current dispute."

The Question of Discipline

Cheit: But at that meeting, the resolutions were introduced, and I recall voting. They were voted on--not in their entirety. I remember opposing the section--I voted against and spoke against--I voted for the overall resolution, but I spoke against the proposition that discipline should be administered by a faculty or senate committee. Do you have the text of the resolution there?

LaBerge: I think I do. Shall I just give it to you?

Cheit: Just show it to me. [looking at FSM chronology] Yes, the fourth paragraph says that, "Future disciplinary measures in the area of political activity shall be determined by a committee appointed by and responsible to the Academic Senate." From my knowledge of Academic Senate committees and how faculty operate, I just had no confidence at all that this would ever work, and so I spoke against it.

LaBerge: Did you have a different alternative?

Cheit: No, I think the administration ought to determine discipline matters. Faculty members would obviously be on the committee. Students might be on the committee, depending on the issue, but I don't think that the administration of discipline ought to be a function of the senate.

Now they had some precedent early in the university's history. Someone dug up the fact, there is an excerpt from a standing committee of the regents in the early 1920s, they delegated disciplinary power of some kind. So there was some precedent. Anyway, I thought it was a lousy idea. I didn't think it would work.

LaBerge: Right.

The Feuer Amendment

Cheit: And so then, I won't go through all of this--there is such a thorough public record. But the meeting was interesting. It was highly charged. The Feuer Amendment was the most interesting part of the meeting. Lewis Feuer is an extremely smart guy. The Feuer Amendment said that speech or advocacy on this campus would not be restricted, provided--well, let me--he would have amended the third paragraph. Maybe I can read it accurately. Oh, here it is.

The third section says that--the proposed resolution, as proposed by the Garbarino Committee--"that the content of speech or advocacy should not be restricted by the university." And he wanted to substitute the language, "The content of speech or advocacy on this campus, provided that it is directed to no immediate act of force or violence."

Now "immediate act of force or violence" sharpens it a lot more than the issue as I discussed it with you last time, because the issue last time was if you organized on campus to advocate an off-campus act that is illegal or that you know is going to be illegal: "Let's have a

sit-in to protest the absence of blacks working in a supermarket, or let's go sit in at the *Oakland Tribune* to protest its attempt to interfere with the university."

LaBerge: Right.

Cheit: Now, that is speech on campus advocating an off-campus act that will probably be illegal, if you're going to trespass or sit and refuse to move. However, Feuer sharpened it even more. The Feuer amendment said, "Provided that it is directed to no immediate act of force or violence," and so what he tried to do is narrow the proposition: it's both on or off campus to "force or violence."

The position taken on the other side was if it's a violation of law, then the courts ought to deal with it--and so the Feuer Amendment was voted down. My recollection is that the most interesting part of the meeting was the discussion on the Feuer Amendment. But by this time people were in no mood for amendments. They wanted to accept what the Academic Freedom Committee had proposed. And as I said, I voted for it. I thought that it was in tune with the times and I thought that it was right.

LaBerge: You're not talking about the Feuer Amendment?

Cheit: No. I did not vote for the Feuer Amendment.

Estimating the Size of the Crowd

LaBerge: And were you aware when you were at the meeting that it was being broadcast outside?

Cheit: Yes.

LaBerge: Okay. So everybody knew that?

Cheit: I saw those speakers and students were gathering and then when we went out, they all applauded us. [laughs]

[Still looking at chronology] And it says 3,000 observers. The numbers on any gathering is always a matter of great interest. I don't know whether there were 3,000. My guess is that it may have been more like 1,500, but I don't know. But I say this because if you follow the papers, when there's a march in Washington, usually the sponsors of the march will say, "We had 300,000 people," and then the park police will estimate 50,000 people. The park police in Washington have now stopped giving crowd estimates because it puts them in an adversary position with the sponsors of the marches.

The reason I mention this is there was a professor of journalism here, Herb Jacobs, an interesting and able man who was bothered by the crowd estimates.

LaBerge: Oh! During this period?

Cheit: Well, during the rallies outside of Sproul when the papers would say that 10,000 people gathered in Sproul Plaza and so on--I was reminded of it by this figure of 3,000 people. He went up on top of Sproul Hall with a camera and he took a series of pictures of a rally. And it was a rally that was then announced--and I can't remember the exact numbers--but let's say they said 7,000 or 7,500. He drew a grid and he counted heads and what he showed was that the actual number was about half of the number it was said to be.

LaBerge: Right. To get into the meeting did you have to show some sort of ID, or what was that? Do you remember?

Cheit: I can't remember. But I know Reggie Zelnick says--

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Cheit: --that he was not able to vote in the senate because he was not a senate member. He was an acting assistant professor, because he hadn't finished his dissertation. I don't recall, but people could look around and see who's there. People kind of knew each other. I never felt there were a lot of ringers in there.

VIII EMERGENCY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1964-1965

Election of the Members

LaBerge: So out of that meeting, at that meeting, was the idea or the decision to appoint an emergency--

Cheit: Elect.

LaBerge: --or elect an Emergency Executive Committee?

Cheit: Right.

LaBerge: And what did you think the purpose of that was?

Cheit: Well, to enable the senate to assert its role. The preamble says, "Whereas the present grave crisis in the life of the university demands that the Berkeley division of the Academic Senate offer leadership to the campus community--." And it says then, "Whereas the existing organization of the division is not well adapted to the exercise of such leadership, and over the emergency circumstances now prevailing, therefore be it resolved--." And I'll not read the rest, but, "An emergency executive committee be elected."

And there were going to be six elected members and the chairman of the division, and that was a fellow from the law school, the SEC--

LaBerge: Oh, Jennings?

Cheit: Yes, Dick Jennings. Be ex-officio. And, "that it represents the division in dealing with the problems and that it should report regularly to the division and that the senate will conduct the election."

LaBerge: And so did you know that you were being nominated?

Cheit: No. I was in my office. I went back to work after all of this. Now, we're talking about 1964, aren't we?

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: Right. And I was working on that Ford Foundation study of occupational disability in California. I was in my study. I had two rooms! A little inner room--it was on the second floor of California Hall on the west side. I was in my study and Walter Galenson and Marty Lipset, both of whom were affiliated with the institute--Galenson was professor of economics, a labor economist and Marty Lipset was a sociologist--they came down the hall and they came into my office. And I remember Walter--and I appreciate your looking up these materials, because I see that in the [Carl] Schorske appendix¹, that he was my lead nominator. Anyway, they said to me, "You ought to run for the Emergency Executive--why don't you run for the Emergency Executive Committee?" It had not occurred to me and I was extremely busy, but they said, "Well, we'd like to put your name in nomination." And I said okay.

I can't say that I gave it a lot of thought. I can't say that I gave it [laughs] very much thought at all, but my name was put in. I did not make a speech or--

LaBerge: Or solicit?

Cheit: Or send out a leaflet or ask anyone to vote for me. What happened was there was a vote and there was then a runoff vote, and I was in the runoff. That is, I made the first cut, and then there was the runoff vote a few days later and I came in third. And Carl Schorske, whose memo we were just looking at, just made it. He was the lowest one. I have the outcome of the election here.

LaBerge: See, you have a good memory of it, too.

Cheit: Here's the statement that the senate sent out on December 14. There were 997 ballots and three were declared invalid. [Out of] 994, Art Ross, as you can see, got the most votes: 739. And I got 493. I came in second after Robley [Williams]. And then Art Sherry, a professor of law who was a former prosecuting attorney, and then Ray Bressler, a wonderful man from agriculture economics, and Carl Schorske, who was associated with that Committee of 200. He was seen as the candidate from the Committee of 200, and he beat out Schaaf by one vote, I see.

LaBerge: Wow.

Cheit: And then came Dave Blackwell, Phil Selznick, Joe Tussman, and John Searle, and Howie Schachman. So we were elected and the committee met. You want this for any reason?

LaBerge: I would love it. We could put this in your volume, just the way this one is in Carl Schorske's.

¹See Carl E. Schorske, "Intellectual Life, Civil Libertarian Issues, and the Student Movement at the University of California, Berkeley, 1960-1969," an oral history conducted in 1996 and 1997 by Ann Lage, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 2000.

Cheit: Okay, that's fine.

Organization and Mission

Cheit: Anyway, first we had to get organized. We had a quick meeting and the--

LaBerge: At the same time were you still teaching classes, giving exams, and things like that?

Cheit: Yes! Oh, yes, oh, I was a full time--

LaBerge: Classes weren't ended yet?

Cheit: No. So the first thing we did--we organized and we decided that Art Ross should be our chairman. We met in his office. He was on the second floor of California Hall, as director of the Institute of Industrial Relations and a very well-known and respected person on this campus. Those offices of California Hall then were really wonderful. He had a large office and a big table. We sat around that table and we decided that Dick Jennings should not be the chairman, that he was really ex-officio and he was there just to keep the senate's leadership in the deliberations.

Then our second order of business was to try to carry out the senate's will. The regents were meeting in Los Angeles and I think it was their regular December meeting. And I actually have some notes. I started keeping a notebook of what happened in the Emergency Executive Committee.

LaBerge: Oh, that's great.

Cheit: But I was soon overwhelmed by events, so the notes cover only the first few meetings. We decided that the first thing we had to do was to get down to Los Angeles to that regents' meeting because there was a strong public reaction against the December 8 resolution. A lot of people were writing letters and issuing press releases.

A Flurry of Publicity

Cheit: Charlie Sellers, who was a fine professor of history, American History, wrote a long piece about what this was all really about. There was this big surge in publicity trying to offset the notion that what really happened was that the university just caved into a bunch of protesters and rolled over and played dead.

Yes, this is the Charlie Sellers' [piece] that appeared in the [*Berkeley*] *Gazette*. And you can have that.

LaBerge: Would you like it back?

Cheit: I may have another one somewhere. But hold onto it. If I ever want it back, I'll let you know.

There were a lot of other things. Someone issued a long statement in the name of the Free Speech Movement explaining its position. There was this great flurry of publicity to try to offset the notion.

Here is a statement that, A Message on the Proposed Solution to the Free Speech Controversy from faculty members of the University of California at Berkeley to colleagues and friends in the statewide university, members of other colleges and universities, and fellow citizens.

And then there's a statement here by Carl Schorske, Joe Tussman, Owen Chamberlain. It said, "This was sponsored by Henry Nash Smith, William Kornhauser, Sheldon Wolin, Charles Muscatine, Charles Sellers, and David Freedman," and it was sent to all the regents. It has a little chronology. It has everything but a date. This was also part of what I just mentioned, this great burst of activity after the December 8 resolution.

So things were heating up for the regents' meeting. What were the regents going to do? That became the issue. Here are some notes that I made at the time: 10:30 p.m. December 14 is my first note. "Talk to Art about the meeting, a press release, chairmanship, and my proposal to Kerr." And then December 15, the next morning, the calls started to come in.

LaBerge: Do you remember what your proposal to Kerr was?

Cheit: Yes, we had a proposal that essentially the regents ought to embrace constitutional rights for students and not get in a fight with the faculty. We went down to L.A.--I'll tell you about that regents' meeting--and the result was very good. Whether we should take credit for it or not, Clark Kerr in his memoirs gives the Emergency Executive Committee a lot of credit. And I suppose we ought to take it if it's given to us. The regents issued a statement that was really very good. Of course Kerr and other people worked on this.

LaBerge: Well, I interrupted you. Go on with your notes. Because I think this is great.

Cheit: Well, there were some notes that I made at the time. So here, 9:50, when I started, you can see I was very ambitious.

LaBerge: That's right.

Cheit: "Kadish calls. He wanted to make two points." He was briefing us in case we got to meet with the regents.

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: And his call to me was, "where a student uses his campus political freedom in such a way as to make himself a party to judicially found violations of federal or state law, then the university may impose discipline."

We talked about this earlier. It was the Kadish approach: if they break the law and are found guilty, then the university can do something if it wants. It can pile on. He also said that he believed that the university ought not to impose discipline unless there was a finding by a faculty committee. As a matter of policy that they should have the fact-finding role, and to keep the issue of the degree of punishment separate. But he wanted the faculty to find the facts. He was kind of narrowing this a little bit.

We met at ten o'clock that morning, December 15, and Robley Williams called in from Philadelphia where he was in a meeting.

Then there was a meeting of the UCLA senate. We were asked could we send someone to their meeting? We didn't have time for that, and I suggested that rather than go down there, we could send them a message. So we designated Schorske and Bressler to draft a message to send to the UCLA senate. But we agreed there that we would request a meeting before the regents.

As I recall the meeting was on the 18th, so we were really under the gun. My notes say, "Should we put the request through the chancellor? Should we ask for permission?" There used to be rules. You just can't ask to go to the regents. And so we decided, not for permission, but to inform him as a courtesy. This was still Ed Strong, of course. We agreed that there should be no negotiations in advance with the administration before the meeting.

EEC's Press Release and Request to the Regents

Cheit: We also decided that we'd get out a press release to say what we were doing. We met again at 1:30--we had two meetings that day--we met to send a telegram to the regents and draft and issue a press release. We then contacted the president about the L.A. meeting. And then when we reconvened at 1:30--am I going into too much detail?

LaBerge: No, I think this is wonderful, because this is what you were involved in!

Cheit: Art Ross reported that during the lunch hour he reached Ed Strong about the regents' meeting and just reported our plans for his information. He also talked to the president's office saying that we were going to send a telegram, and [Public Information Officer] Dick Hafner offered

to help us. We sent a telegram to L.A. and we got the press release out at three o'clock. That's pretty darn good.

LaBerge: It sure is!

Cheit: Here is a copy of that press release. It says, "The newly elected Emergency Executive Committee met twice today and requested a conference with the Board of Regents at its Los Angeles meeting this week. Pledged to support the faculty resolution passed December 8, by the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate, the committee will seek to present the resolution to the regents as a basis for restoring a campus environment in which teaching, learning, and research may be effectively resumed." Now I won't read this whole thing to you, but here it lists the members and tells how to communicate with us.

LaBerge: I just want to say for the tape that it's mimeographed, which is an old style.

Cheit: That's right.

LaBerge: Mimeographed paper.

Cheit: Right. And here's the telegram. No, sorry. This is the message to our sister senate, the UCLA senate. It says that we met today. We regret our inability to accept their generous invitation to attend their special meeting. We're deeply involved in organizational plans and arranging for a meeting with the regents for the purpose of discussing the resolution the Berkeley division adopted December 8.

And then somewhere here I've got the telegram that we sent to the regents. Oh, yes, here it is. We sent it to Clark Kerr, and we sent copies to Franklin Murphy, chancellor at UCLA. The telegram was sent at 4:30 that day and it said, quote, "The Emergency Executive Committee of the Berkeley Division respectfully requests an opportunity to confer with the Board of Regents concerning crisis on campus political activity at Berkeley. We plan to be in Los Angeles Thursday and Friday and would welcome opportunity for informal discussions as well as formal presentation of the Berkeley Division's view." Here's a copy of that telegram. The committee was soon flooded with letters, both telling us what to do and not to do, and telling us what we were doing was terrible.

Criticism from the Public and Faculty

LaBerge: From other faculty?

Cheit: Oh, some from faculty and some from the public. I have a few of these things. From somebody in--is it Modesto? The superintendent of schools in Modesto said that we were

terrible. Let's see if I can find it. Well, when I said that the FSM issued the statement, it's attached to that glossy--yes, this one.

I think this may be the last page of it. Copies of that statement were sent to all the regents. I'm not sure--this person was Andrew Wells, committee on correspondence. [laughs] It refers back to our Revolutionary War here, Free Speech Movement. This was addressed to all the regents.

This pile of paper messages is just a sample. Here is a letter circulated among faculty members, and one was sent to me as a member of the committee. These were people who were urging faculty members to write the regents. It's a long letter, addressed to the regents and it says, "I urge the regents to reject the proposal of the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate of December 8, 1964. The FSM has intimidated the campus, placed it in a position where fair and rational decision could not be reached. Faculty were more concerned with appeasing student agitators than actually considering the true validity of "free" speech objectives raised by the movement. The campus was in a state of almost constant turmoil for months. Frightened observers realize that if the regents accept this proposal, it's a violation of public trust," and so on.

LaBerge: Who is that from?

Cheit: Well, it was a form sent around. This is a blank copy of the form urging faculty members to send it to the regents.

Here's a letter that Dick Jennings got from the Westport Union School District in Modesto. And I'm just reading the penultimate paragraph: "By your actions, you have lost the support of the community of people whom you profess to serve, and worse, you have deserted the principles among which truth and justice hinge: a respect for decency of man and loyalty to law and order." And the chairman of the Board of Trustees of this same school adopted a resolution to President Kerr, saying that he should stand up and not approve this stuff.

So we were getting ready to go to Los Angeles, I think it was the next day.

Planning for the December 17 Regents' Meeting

LaBerge: Were you pretty sure the regents were going to say, "Yes, please come?" Or what did you think?

Cheit: We didn't know. We had no knowledge. And in fact, in my notes, we ought to look up what day--

LaBerge: I think it's in this chronology--the day the regents' meeting was?

Cheit: Yes.

LaBerge: Well, the 17th it says the regents met with the Emergency Executive Committee. The 17th and 18th, Thursday and Friday.

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Cheit: Now, after we sent out the press release, and we sent the telegram, we continued meeting. You recall that I mentioned we reconvened after lunch, at 1:30. I made a note here on what Art Ross told us about talking to Clark.

LaBerge: Right.

Conferring with President Kerr

Cheit: And my notes here say: "4:15, Art talked with Clark, read the wire and release. Said the Emergency Executive Committee would be in L.A. on Thursday, wants to meet with regents. Kerr seemed reluctant, and reports pressure from the other side. Art will send wire, asking permission and will call on the 16th."

We made reservations at a hotel, and my note says, "Made reservations at hotel for Los Angeles."

We met at noon on the 16th. My notes say Art recounts talk with Kerr on three points: that we should first meet with Kerr to brief him, then we'd meet informally with the regents, and then we'd meet formally with the regents on Friday. That's what we wanted. My notes also say that Art Ross reported: Kerr lukewarm.

LaBerge: [laughs] That's why these notes are so great. You wouldn't necessarily have remembered that.

Cheit: Right. And then it says on the 16th: "Received call today from Kerr. Okay to meet informally with a few regents. Second call from Pickerell." Al [Albert] Pickerell was the public information officer at systemwide. Remember him? A professor of journalism? Now deceased.

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: Yes, he was a very able man. "Call from Pickerell saying not to make any statement until later today. Kerr will call." We agreed--this is the committee now--"must talk informally and make formal presentation unless Kerr does." And we thought unless Clark says, 'I want you to do this,' we felt we had to do it. "Art will call Kerr right after lunch."

The Arthur Kip Proposal

Cheit: Then my notes say, "Read Kip letter." Arthur Kip, a professor of physics also now deceased. He sent us a letter that we should try this on an experimental basis. I have a copy of his letter. [looks through papers] And here's one from somebody else.

Here, Arthur Kip wrote that if we ever arrive at a situation where the regents are considering the details of their proper reaction to the student problem, the following suggestion might be useful: "Rather than reducing the openness of the plan of the Committee on Academic Freedom to accommodate worries and pressures from various quarters, emphasis might be placed on its acceptance with minimum modification, hopefully none, but on a definite trial period for a period of X months." Arthur Kip was a man of great stature on this campus. We discussed his idea, but decided to go for broke. We decided to not to ask for a trial basis.

Then my notes say that Bressler says we should try to stop other senators from their activity. We didn't want other people to say they represent the senate. We were supposed to represent it.

LaBerge: Right. Yes, yes.

Cheit: Then we agreed that if Ed Strong wanted to promote the Kip proposal, that he should go ahead and do it. We wanted to line up the deans. Schorske says, "All the deans but one are behind us." I don't know who that one was. And we looked at a file of documents--Kerr's four points. Then we discussed legal memos.

Division of Labor

Cheit: We divided into subcommittees, division of committee labor: Cheit and Sherry on the rules and their enforcement; Schorske, Sherry, and others on number three, the third paragraph. Art, an introductory statement. Robley and Dick on discipline. Ray with administrative experience could talk on the whole issue. We still didn't know if we were going to have a formal opportunity. But we did now have a hint from Kerr that maybe we could meet informally with a few regents.

We met at the airport, seven-thirty on the morning of December 17. Art reported that he had a call from L.A. from [Regent William] Coblentz. "Our committee will be meeting at three-thirty with a large group of regents, including the governor. Call came at twelve-thirty a.m., and said, 'The decision to see us came after a *long* struggle.' " My notes say: "On the

plane to L.A., distributed materials, prepared biogs for introduction at Art's request." So we were doing our homework on the flight down there.

LaBerge: [laughs]

Cheit: "Ten-thirty. Arrived at motel. Car waiting to take us to campus. Message from Al Pickerell. Eleven o'clock, met with Kerr." We are now on the UCLA campus. "Met with Kerr who discussed mood of regents. Ugly. Kerr terribly upset by meeting last evening in which Strong attacked him and urged a right-wing approach. More discipline, harder line. Lamenting his lack of authority and Kerr's intervention." So that was the regents meeting where Strong attacked Kerr.

"Kerr read first draft of our proposed statement to regents. We discussed and urged him to drop" *his* proposed statement to the regents! "We discussed and urged him to drop two paragraphs and said we would add others." Then lunch session of the committee. We decided to draft talking points reflecting the senate resolution. And then we worked on four major points and then at 2:40, "Kerr joins us to discuss the points, accepts the advocacy points but balks on the others, still disturbed by Strong's attack. Asks for our help."

Meeting with the Regents, December 17

Cheit: "Three-thirty, regents join us--thirteen of the eighteen, including Brown." So the governor was there.

LaBerge: Wow.

Cheit: My notes are running out. This is my last page.

LaBerge: That's good, and we're almost done. [looking at clock]

Cheit: Yes. "Very good session. Rafferty hostile."

LaBerge: Max Rafferty?

Cheit: Yes. "Rafferty hostile. Two or three others hostile but most seemed favorable. [Ed] Carter says okay on advocacy, but turns us down on discipline."

Then I wrote here, "Ugh--more Rafferty." [laughter] "Session lasts until 5:45 and all points discussed. We are optimistic. Six o'clock, press release to the press that we had fruitful session with regents. Our committee--6:30--committee goes to chancellor's house"--this was Franklin Murphy's house on campus--"for drinks and discussion of organizational and teaching problems of the university. Murphy is charming and is campaigning."

Murphy really wanted to be president and he really charmed us and everybody. Then I have: "Much talk and drinking." Then nine o'clock: "Dinner with Al." Could that be Al Pickerell? "Dinner with Al. Carl and I to guard the door at the regents--"

LaBerge: [laughs] What does that mean?

Cheit: Well--

LaBerge: To guard the door, so people don't leave? So people don't come in?

Cheit: I would assume to come in, but how we would arrogate that to ourselves, I don't know. It has: "Carl and I to guard door at regents. Message from Lepawsky, Hardin Jones, and Lawrence."

LaBerge: Okay, these are all professors.

Cheit: Yes. Al Lepawsky, political science; Hardin Jones from the Lawrence Lab; and Lawrence was--maybe David Lawrence, I'm not sure. They hounded Art all day.

LaBerge: They would have hounded him to not do this?

Cheit: Oh, yes. Oh, they were opposed to our mission. They were very hostile to me and to other people--to Art. Well, they were just hostile to us. Before their deaths, I got to know them. I really have a lot of feeling for all those people. They just thought the university was being destroyed. That's nine o'clock.

"Eleven o'clock, set to meet Kerr by nine o'clock tomorrow morning in lobby, regents again. Eleven-thirty." This is now that night. "Call to Errol Mauchlan--who was the budget officer for the campus--to see why Strong behaved so badly. Bressler did that." Because Bressler--that's the end of those notes on that point..

LaBerge: But those are wonderful because you would never remember all of those reactions.

Highly Significant Memo from Law Professor Robert H. Cole

Cheit: No. No, I would not. Now before we adjourn, I'm just going to adjourn on this point: we got a memo. It was addressed to Arthur Sherry on December 16. And this memo, it's three pages, single-spaced, and its author was Bob Cole from the law school--Robert Cole, who was a new acting professor, but who had become drawn into this with the Committee of 200. Bob Cole actually drafted this memo. He added two other names. He's since told me he put the name of Hans Linde, who was a visiting professor. He was a professor from the University of Oregon, a famous constitutional lawyer, and now a judge on the Oregon Supreme Court.

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: And R. M. O'Neil--Bob O'Neil who was professor of constitutional law at Boalt. He was president of the University of Virginia, I think. He was also president of the University of Cincinnati. Then he went to Virginia and he's now head of some constitutional rights group in Virginia. And this memo from Bob Cole--as you know there are three Bob Coles on this campus.

LaBerge: But we have to make sure we have the right one.

Cheit: Right. This is Robert H. Cole from the law school. The subject of this memo is "Consistency of Academic Senate resolution with the regents' statement of November 20." And this is a brilliant memo from a brilliant person. He has such clarity of mind. He sent it to Arthur Sherry because Sherry was his colleague at the law school. And on our committee. This was to inform us that what we were asking the regents to do isn't to go back on a statement that they issued November 20, but is actually fully consistent with that statement.

LaBerge: So that you'd have those points in your head, when talking to the regents.

Cheit: Yes, so we'd also have a deeper understanding. And this was a very, very helpful memo, and so I have always felt--and I have told him this. Indeed, we became very good friends. I spoke when the law school gave him a party on the occasion of his retirement. He's now emeritus, but still very active around here--I told his law school colleagues at that gathering that, when the true history of this period is written and understood, that Bob Cole deserves a huge amount of credit for moving the regents to the position they took and restoring the campus to a set of policies that were right and that worked.

And this memo--which he lost his only copy of, and I gave him a copy not so long ago--this memo lays out that position. It's one of the crucial documents of this whole period.

LaBerge: Okay. Can we get a copy of that, too?

Cheit: Yes. I'll give you my only copy.

LaBerge: How about if you copy it for me?

Cheit: I copied this on a Xerox machine and it came out very light and it's fading. This is December 16, 1964. But I'll trust you.

LaBerge: So next time we'll begin with the regents' reaction--because we haven't talked about when you actually went to the regents' meeting.

Cheit: Okay.

"Consistency of Academic Senate Resolution with Regents' Statement of November 20"

[Interview 10: November 20, 2000] ##

LaBerge: We ended last time--

Cheit: Well, I think I had described the meeting of the Emergency Executive Committee with the regents. I said that a key issue was convincing the regents that their November 20 statement was consistent with the essence of the December 8 resolution except for disciplinary authority being exercised by the faculty.

And I think I mentioned to you that a memorandum was sent to the Emergency Executive Committee and it was drafted by this young new faculty member at the law school, Robert H. Cole. And actually the memo [was] dated December 16 because we went down on the 17th. Although it has the two other names on it, I know that Bob Cole wrote it.

The title of the memo is "Consistency of Academic Senate Resolution with Regents' Statement of November 20." Now the chronologies tell us that on November 20, the regents had issued a statement that had a lot in it about student discipline. They approved recommendations by President Kerr and Chancellor Strong about discipline, but then they issued a resolution which had been drafted by Kerr saying--I won't go through the whole thing--but essentially restating their belief, "That certain campus facilities carefully selected, properly regulated, may be used by students and staff for planning, implementing, or raising funds or recruiting participants for lawful off-campus action--not for unlawful off-campus action." But they didn't say what bad thing would happen if someone did advocate for unlawful--

LaBerge: Unlawful, yes.

Cheit: They fudged that. Anyway, this memo that Bob Cole rushed over to us essentially says that it's consistent with the December 8 resolution. And what he was telling our committee, was when you go down to meet with the regents, the context ought not to be telling the regents that they have to make some drastic change in what they believe to accommodate the December 8 resolution. Rather, it was saying that, "You stated principles that are fully consistent with this." That's why I think I mentioned last time, but even if I did, let me repeat, I think that he deserves a lot of credit for what happened.

Report on EEC's Discussion with the Regents

Cheit: What happened was we had a very good meeting with the regents and most of them came. There was going to be a separate meeting, but almost all of them came. I was, I think, last time reading from my notes--

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: We had set up a drafting committee to deal with the four parts of the December 8 resolution: advocacy, discipline, amnesty, and adopting the Berkeley senate principles.

Kerr went in and out, my notes say, to discuss various points. Then thirteen of the eighteen regents, including Governor Brown, joined us at three-thirty that afternoon and we had, as I wrote, "We had a very good session. Rafferty was hostile, and two or three others were hostile, but most seemed favorable." And Carter--Regent Carter--who was an extremely influential regent, said that the advocacy part was okay. My notes say, "Carter says OK on advocacy, but turns us down on discipline." And then my notes say, "Ugh, more Rafferty." And they say, "Session lasts until 5:45. All points discussed. We are optimistic."

Then the Emergency Executive Committee released a statement saying we had this very good meeting with the regents. And in going through my materials, [going through papers] well, I don't see it here.

LaBerge: Oh, I have it here. It's in this chronology.

Cheit: Yes. We released a statement saying we had this very good meeting, and then significantly the regents--and I give Clark Kerr credit for this--the regents issued a statement. Here's a copy that Clark sent. It was a conciliatory statement on December 18, and I won't read the whole thing, but it said that they, "welcome and appreciate that the Academic Council made good suggestions and that they've met with various groups and they reaffirm their devotion to the First and Fourteenth Amendment." Anyway, it was quite a conciliatory statement.

Then we came back. This is now December the 18th, so now as we get home, it was the 19th. And you know, Kerr was still really smarting from that attack by Strong at the meeting; I think I mentioned that that really bothered him. In fact my handwritten notes here say that the committee asked Ray Bressler to call Errol Mauchlan--Ray Bressler had been a vice chancellor and a very good friend of Errol Mauchlan, who was then budget officer--to find out why Strong did this. And my notes say that it was a very expensive phone call because they were on the phone for a long time. Anyway, there was all this pent-up feeling that Ed Strong had--that came out.

LaBerge: To go back just a little, what kind of discussion was there with the regents about the one point about the unlawful activity? The fact that that had been in their statement? Because the Academic Senate statement didn't--

Cheit: I think they just kind of blurred it over. They didn't sharpen it. But, the people who led the FSM, both from the student side and their faculty supporters, they were very, very clear about this. And you know, when you go back to that exchange with Sandy Kadish to our rules committee, the issue was sharpened very clearly. It wasn't sharpened like that in the discussion with the regents. I don't remember the discussion clearly, but I do remember that they were quite agreeable to the way we interpreted what all this meant.

LaBerge: Who was your main spokesperson?

Cheit: Well, Art Ross was our chairman. But we had four subgroups. We organized ourselves into these four subgroups.

LaBerge: You did talk about that you had subgroups. So each of you did have a chance to talk?

Cheit: To speak, right. And it was a very good session. In fact, the regents really seemed quite open to what we were saying. As my notes recall, there are only two or three that seemed hostile at that point, so we came back feeling really quite good.

There were various statements that the Emergency Executive Committee issued to the campus, and there's one that I have here dated December 27 and one dated December 30. On December 27 we issued a report to the Academic Senate. It was an interim report on the situation at Berkeley as we saw it. It said we met for approximately two hours with regents and on the following day the regents declared advocacy, or content of speech, will not be restricted beyond the purview of the First and Fourteenth Amendment. It was a very upbeat statement.

Then we go into the five points of the December 8 resolution. And the one on discipline that the regents adopted on December 18, saying that the regents confirm that ultimate authority for student discipline is constitutionally vested in the regents and is not subject to negotiation--we say, well, it was never the intent of the December 8 resolution to question the regents' sovereignty, rather to ensure that university rules will be administered effectively and impartially. And so what we say is, although the regents couldn't agree with that, there are some procedures that could accomplish the underlying purpose; that is, if there were a faculty judicial committee and that we wanted to do this through a faculty committee, that could work within a delegation from the chancellor. And we actually discussed with Ed Strong how this might be done. We said, "We're going to try to pursue this and we'll issue some suggestions later." We felt pretty good.

That was December 28. On December 30 we issued a press release saying, "The end is now in sight to the conflict." [laughs]

LaBerge: And wasn't the committee originally appointed just until the end of the year?

Cheit: No, no.

LaBerge: Or was it indefinite?

Cheit: Well, I have to go back and look at the resolution. I think it said the current emergency. And then what happened, of course, is that the regents had a special meeting. Was it December 30 or was it January 2? They had a special meeting.

Chancellor Strong on Leave; Martin Meyerson, Acting Chancellor

LaBerge: January 2 [1965] it says here.

Cheit: They put Ed Strong on indefinite leave, and appointed Martin Meyerson [as acting chancellor]. Our role then changed rather dramatically. We were now, instead of being mainly a bridge between the faculty--particularly the resolution of December 8--and the regents, we were now mainly working with Martin Meyerson to give credibility to his administration. And we liked him. He's a wonderful man.

LaBerge: How do you think he was chosen?

Cheit: I don't know the answer to that. He was little known. We had nothing to do with it. We were not consulted and didn't know anything about it. We did know about the conflict between Strong and Kerr.

LaBerge: Right. And knowing that, do you remember what you were thinking at the time? Did you think Chancellor Strong would resign?

Cheit: Well, I thought that it was possible, yes. As I've said, I felt sorry for him because he was an able and honest guy, but events overtook him. I don't think he was terribly well-served by his vice chancellor for student affairs.

LaBerge: Alex Sherriffs?

Cheit: Yes. And he was so understaffed. To run an administration in the face of all he was dealing with would require five times the kind of staff support that he had. And I felt that as he got backed into a corner more and more, his position hardened. But I never knew him closely as a colleague. I knew him slightly as a friend--but had no idea about his plans. I assumed some resolution had to occur to this hostility between them.

LaBerge: Right.

Cheit: Meyerson was not known to many people. He was dean of Environmental Design and he had not been here very long. I think it was just a few years. So he was a relative newcomer. Anyway, he was an able person, very smart, as we learned when we started meeting with him.

We went up to his house, met and discussed matters early on. The first thing he did was issue a statement.

LaBerge: Oh, here. I may have--if you don't have it, I have it. On January 3.

Cheit: Yes. I have an original typed copy of that statement [laughs] in which he said: "It was only last night, after Chancellor Strong requested for leave, that I was asked by him and the regents and President Kerr to be acting chancellor. Because most of you do not know me well, I wish to state some of my views." And then he stated some very enlightened views about the campus and about democracy and about speech and citizenship and political process. It was just a very good statement. We helped him a bit and acted as a sounding board.

Time, Place, and Manner Rules, First Draft

LaBerge: Well, it says at the end of it, "The Emergency Executive Committee of the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate concurs in these rules."

Cheit: Right. He used us as we wanted to be used, for credibility. Then he needed some rules. The president and the regents said he should issue some rules, so we drafted some rules. And I have here the first--[laughs] I have right here the first draft--typed draft--of these rules that he issued.

LaBerge: It's so great that you saved all those things!

Cheit: I don't know how or why I did.

LaBerge: You didn't realize what you did was historic.

Cheit: Right. Anyway, here is the first draft. And you know, it sets out proposed rules.

LaBerge: And these are time, place, and manner.

Cheit: Right, the "Time, Place, and Manner Rules." We had worked them over, and he issued those, and then his administration got off to a pretty good start. There were tests right away, but actually things worked pretty well. We're now into early '65, and a lot of other things started to happen. I don't have a chronology in front of me, but maybe you can remember from your chronology when Mario Savio officially resigned?

LaBerge: It is in here. I'll look at my list. [pause] While I'm looking for this, were all of you on the committee still teaching and carrying out your regular duties?

Cheit: Yes, yes.

LaBerge: Because you had--how many times were you meeting?

Cheit: We were meeting almost every day. And it became really a consuming job. Over the Christmas and over the New Year's [holidays], we met.

LaBerge: Mario Savio announced his withdrawal from the FSM on April 26.

Cheit: Okay, the early period of the Meyerson administration. I don't think it makes sense for me to recapitulate this.

Threatened Resignations of Kerr and Meyerson

LaBerge: No, just kind of your impressions.

Cheit: The early period had some tests of him and he did well, but then in March, I think it was, when the Filthy Speech issue arose. It's very interesting because I just read about it in the manuscript of Clark Kerr's memoirs now at the UC Press; he describes as one of his big mistakes the offered resignation, that he and Meyerson did.

LaBerge: Why don't you talk about that? From what I've read, it's not clear why they offered their resignations, whether it was just this episode or something happened with the regents.

Cheit: Well, I would guess that it was both. But the episode triggered some pent-up frustration with the regents. What happened, the way I recall it, there were a lot of tests of the rules. This now became not so much Free Speech, it's kind of a cat and mouse game, because the FSM essentially won the main point. But these movements take on a life of their own.

Filthy Speech Episode

Cheit: Meyerson, I thought, was really doing quite well, and then the precipitating incident was someone who was not a student--he's been variously described--I just saw your chronology describes him as a junior college student from Oakland or something. I've seen him described as a dropout, of course he could be both, from the Midwest somewhere who just kind of drifted out here. Anyway, he came on campus with a sign bearing what was then the ultimate four letter word, the F word--which now, when you go to a movie, if it doesn't occur in every third exchange, you're relieved. [laughs] So there was a big reaction--it was prominently displayed in the press. I think that Clark was getting pressure from individual regents to get Meyerson to discipline students, or discipline students who were using filthy speech, and to discipline this young man, whoever he was, and somehow bar him from the campus.

At that time, our representative from this area, now deceased, [Assemblyman] Don Mulford was very aggressive in his criticism of how we were handling things, or how things were not being handled. I think that the pressure on Clark and on Martin Meyerson got them agitated.

There was a regents' meeting coming up, and what they did was to issue conditional resignations. They said, "If the regents are going to ask that we discipline for this exercise of speech, we submit our resignation." I don't think they said, "We resign," but they said that, "We will resign if we're asked." They held a press conference and announced their position.

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: People were absolutely staggered by this. In retrospect, as I said, Clark says he thinks that was dumb of him to do that. Everyone was stunned. My recollection is that a newspaper reporter caught up with this young man and asked him, why did he do this? And it's one of the few bits of humor that came out of this thing. He said, "Gee, I didn't want to cause all this problem, this trouble." He said, "It's just a subject I've been thinking about a lot lately." [laughter]

Loss in Credibility

Cheit: Then there was a regents' meeting and the resignations either weren't--I don't know precisely procedurally--either the resignations weren't submitted, or they were routinely tendered and rejected. Anyway there were no resignations. But the cost in credibility was enormous. Both of them suffered greatly from that.

LaBerge: Credibility with the faculty?

Cheit: With the regents. My own view having been an administrator for many years and an observer for many years is you don't threaten to resign.

LaBerge: Either do it--

Cheit: You resign, or you don't. And when you threaten to resign and withdraw the resignation, it imposes a very high cost in credibility. I think that it was the beginning of the end for Clark. Perhaps that beginning started sooner, but I think this pushed it along. And then secondly, I suspect it was an element--maybe a big element--in the regents' decision not to choose Meyerson as chancellor. He was on the short list and was not chosen. So anyway, there was the Filthy Speech crisis in March.

LaBerge: And how much did you get involved in it as part of that committee?

Cheit: Almost not at all. We did a lot of hand-holding with Martin Meyerson. We helped, we drafted statements for him, or he'd draft a statement and we'd comment and give our agreement--but this caught us off-guard. Certainly caught me off-guard. The committee was very surprised by it.

Now we're getting into the spring, and by and large, the Meyerson administration was getting along pretty well. There were rough spots. The FSM sort of, I wouldn't say, dissolved, but really various leaders merged into other organizations and the growing protest of the war--other things started to loom larger. I don't know whether the official end of the FSM occurred--

Search Committee for New Chancellor

LaBerge: Okay, you were talking about the end of the FSM.

Cheit: Yes, other organized political activity began to become much more visible. My recollection of that spring was that it had some bumps, but no great crises that I can recall.

Now, sometime in February or March, Clark Kerr as president created a search committee, to find a permanent chancellor for Berkeley. In those days search committees were confidential. Nowadays, the names are published, so you know who's on the search committee; but this search committee was a confidential committee. Kerr asked the Academic Senate for some names. I can't remember all the people on it. But as events would have it, the Academic Senate nominated me!

LaBerge: Oh.

Cheit: And so I was on the search committee for the new chancellor.

LaBerge: Okay, and now can you tell me who was on that?

Cheit: Well, the chairman of it was Bob Connick. And I really have to struggle now, because I don't seem to have a file, but there were, I think, four or five of us.

LaBerge: Outside people, too, besides university people?

Cheit: No. Faculty only. We conferred--and in a sense reported to--a regent, Don McLaughlin. Anyway, there was a period in which it was quite awkward for me because no one on the [Emergency] Executive Committee, no one else knew who was on the search committee.

LaBerge: I see. And you'd be going to these meetings?

Cheit: Right. And it was quite evident to me that Art Ross really saw himself as a leading candidate.

LaBerge: Okay.

Cheit: He is dead, and can't rebut this, but I think it's fair to say that he was campaigning to be chancellor. I admired him immensely. I was a big fan of his on many things. So eventually I decided that the Executive Committee ought to know. I told them at one point that I was on the search committee. Having told them, it didn't seem like such a big deal. [laughter]

LaBerge: But because it was secret--

Cheit: Yes, it was odd. Yes.

LaBerge: Well, how do you go about--do you publish a want ad for a chancellor?

Cheit: Nowadays, you know, ever since the development of affirmative action rules, the search for an administrator is as choreographed as a Balanchine ballet. It's very well laid out. But not then. What happened was that announcements were sent out and published, and I can't remember now who the secretary of the committee was, but I think someone in the president's office was our secretariat and then people were invited to make nominations. We had a lot of names, but it wasn't like these days when you run big ads in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, you get 250 applicants. We didn't have 250 applicants, but we had quite a few.

LaBerge: And was Art Ross one of them?

Cheit: Yes. He was nominated. Bob Connick was the chairman of the committee. And he is still active. I just met with him last week on a committee that he and I are on. [laughs]

Anyway, we gathered up various names and then we invited and interviewed people, particularly people we didn't know. We interviewed people and came up with a short list. And the short list of people were then invited to the campus.

Roger Heyns

Cheit: One of them was Roger Heyns, whom I had never met before. He was very strongly endorsed by people who knew him, including John Searle, an outspoken young faculty member active in support of the FSM. John had taught at [University of] Michigan as a visitor and he got to know Roger. Indeed, Clark Kerr later told me that John sent him a letter saying, "I've never met a better administrator."

I remember so vividly the visit that Roger made out here because there was so much interest. Clark wanted to keep this secret, and so we met Roger and whisked him away down to Santa Cruz.

LaBerge: And this is the whole search committee?

Cheit: No, it was Clark and Connick and myself and Roger and one other committee member, I can't remember now. We had a long day with Roger, and--

LaBerge: What were you looking for? Did the committee decide what this person should look like?

Cheit: Well, it was someone who could unify and lead the campus. Essentially someone who could bring the campus together. But also to lead and defend Berkeley. Then we submitted our short list. It had two or three names on it and I think Art was one of them--but I'm not positive whether he made the short list. [laughs]

Martin Meyerson certainly did. We didn't have to interview Martin at a secret location, but we knew him well. Anyway, it was Meyerson, and it was Roger Heyns, and one other. And the way it worked then was Clark in consultation with the chairman made the nomination to the full board.

Once you do the search and submit the list, your work is done. And Clark, who was a good administrator and planner, didn't bring Roger in cold. He met somewhere with a group of regents, or maybe the whole board. The regents had an August meeting and Clark made a decision that he would bring Roger's name before the August meeting.



Executive Vice Chancellor (1965-1969) Earl Cheit answering questions from concerned Cal alumni.

IX EXECUTIVE VICE CHANCELLOR, 1965-1969

Appointment of Earl Cheit and Robert Connick

Cheit: Then we had another meeting with Roger at the airport and Roger said, well, you know, the old administration ought to be cleaned out. Because Alex Sherriffs was still the vice chancellor for student affairs, and the office was still intact--except Martin Meyerson was the only change. The chancellor's office was then in Dwinelle Hall, in that cramped space.

I think I may have mentioned earlier that when Clark became the first chancellor of Berkeley, the administration building was in Sproul. And [President] Sproul was in Sproul, and Clark did not want the chancellor to be right where the president could look over his shoulder. There was no University Hall then and so Clark cleared out some space in Dwinelle. It was really quite inferior space. My office--I'm jumping ahead, but my office as executive vice chancellor was about half the size of this office, this faculty study [in Haas].

So we met Roger at the airport. He had talked to Clark earlier and he said that he was going to make some changes and that he wanted to ask whether Connick and I would join his administration.

LaBerge: Had you anticipated this?

Cheit: No! No, no. I still had a research group going. No. And in fact, you know, as I look back at it now, it started with somebody suggesting I run for the Emergency Executive Committee. Actually it started with the Academic Senate nominating me for that rules committee. And then the Emergency Executive Committee and then the search committee.

Anyway, Roger said he thought that we knew the campus situation, that the senate nominated us for this search committee, so we obviously had the confidence of the senate and that he had seen us operate and he said some things that were flattering, why he'd want to work with us. Bob had been dean of chemistry.

LaBerge: That's right.

Cheit: And a very respected scientist and faculty member, so we looked at each other and said okay, we'd do it.

LaBerge: How much went into that decision?

Cheit: Well--

LaBerge: For instance, did you go home and talk to your wife about it?

Cheit: Talk to June? I did, and she said, "Well, whatever you want to do," in contrast to when I came home after Chang-Lin Tien asked me to be interim athletic director in 1993. When I talked to her about that she said, "Are you crazy?" [laughter] But this time she said it's up to you.

I didn't talk with Roger about money or terms. He inspired trust. We were very much taken with Roger. We had admiration and confidence in him. And so mine was the first appointment. He asked if I would be his executive vice chancellor and Connick would be his vice chancellor for academic affairs.

LaBerge: So what did that mean you'd be doing?

Cheit: Well, essentially everything that he did. The organization chart showed the two of us--no pun intended here--in the same box. The box just said Chancellor and then Executive Vice Chancellor. That kind of fuzzed over who reported to whom. Roger was a true academic man and he stayed involved with academic affairs, so Connick did not report to me. Connick reported directly to him, and Roger would read the cases. I only became involved in academic issues when there were administrative appointments or dean searches and so on. I did get involved in those, but day-to-day the basic academic process, dealing with the Budget Committee, acting on promotions, and appointments, Bob Connick dealt directly with Roger.

Approval by the Regents; Meeting in University House

Cheit: Anyway, we were the first appointments by the regents, chancellor and executive vice chancellor. Berkeley hadn't had an executive vice chancellor. That was a new job. I recently found my appointment papers. I was to get \$27,500 a year, to me it was a huge salary. Roger and I appeared at the regents' meeting in University Hall. We both spoke briefly and then we left the room. The regents voted and we were both officially appointed.

Connick wasn't there, but he was appointed either at that meeting or they gave Clark authority to appoint him. We were appointed and there was congratulations: they shook our hands and we had lunch with the regents. Then Roger and I walked up to University House, which was to be his home.

LaBerge: Anybody living there?

Cheit: No, and it was locked, but we found an open window. We opened the window and crawled in and that's how the Heyns administration began. [laughter] And so we were in University House alone, sitting in what's now the living room. We sat down and talked about plans for the new administration. And that was Friday, August 13, 1965.

LaBerge: What did you do about your classes in the business school?

Cheit: For a while I taught one class a year. And whether I did in that first fall of '65 or not, I can't remember.

Short Time as Acting Chancellor

Cheit: We made plans for the administration. One of the problems was that he had told the University of Michigan that he would stay long enough to present its budget to the legislature, and he felt he had to stay with that commitment. He and I discussed a lot of things. He started out here for a few days. On Monday, we moved into the offices. The job was to put together an administration and to keep things going until he could present the budget to the Michigan legislature and then come out here.

LaBerge: So is that when you were acting chancellor?

Cheit: Yes. I was acting chancellor. I can't remember now the exact period, but it was a kind of rocky period for a number of reasons. One is, I didn't really have a staff. I relieved Alex Sherriffs of his job, and he was a sophisticated man, and--

LaBerge: Knew it was coming? [laughs]

Cheit: Yes, sure. And the woman who was the key kind of administrative assistant to Ed Strong-- Kitty Malloy, I think she retired. She couldn't stay either.

Marge Frantz

Cheit: And then I had a blow-up with this Communist-hunter of the *Examiner*, because there was a woman who worked with me at the Institute of Industrial Relations who came over and started setting up my office for me, and her name was Marge Frantz.

Marge Frantz was on various lists of so-called subversive organizations. She had been active in left-wing politics at various times. She had worked with me in the Institute of Industrial Relations for at least three years, I think. Let's see, this is now '65--maybe four years. And she was very able; helped me oversee the project, did data processing, writing up conclusions from that big study of occupational disability--

LaBerge: I think you thanked her in the introduction to that report.

Cheit: Yes, I owe her thanks. She was an extremely able person. Well, the *Examiner* had this Communist-hunter called Ed Montgomery, now deceased. And someone in the chancellor's office--there were a number of people there who kind of resented the newcomers--told him that Marge Frantz was here in the new administration: you've got this Communist coming right in, and so Ed Montgomery started writing articles about this Communist who was going to be in the middle of the chancellor's office.

Marge and I talked about it and she decided to go back to the Institute of Industrial Relations after she finished helping me organize my office. We had never formally discussed what she might do. I had great admiration for her and indeed would have preferred that she be on my staff, but we never discussed specifics. I had a call from Roger from Michigan saying, you know, "I'm getting calls about this. Whatever it is, just do whatever you think is the right thing and don't give it another thought." He was so wonderful that way. She went back to the institute. She never had an office in the chancellor's suite.

LaBerge: She's been interviewed for this Free Speech project.

Cheit: Oh, I would think so, sure. And she may be emeritus also now. She's at UC Santa Cruz. She moved down there and got a Ph.D., and I think has taught in the History of Consciousness program.

Nancy Fujita, Margaret Mould and Art Ross

LaBerge: So who did you get then? Is that when you got Nancy [Fujita]?

Cheit: Early on I realized that two women that I had worked with at the Institute of Industrial Relations, who were enormously competent, would be very valuable to our office. One was Nancy and the other was Margaret Mould. I hired Nancy as my secretary and I hired Margaret as the office manager. She really put together the Office of the Chancellor, certainly from the staff support side. I took them from the Institute of Industrial Relations. A great move. Two extremely able people.

LaBerge: Now was Art Ross at the Institute of Industrial Relations?

Cheit: He was the director.

LaBerge: So were there any problems with you after that?

Cheit: No. He took leave but I don't recall exactly when. He became commissioner of labor statistics.

LaBerge: Oh, for the federal government?

Cheit: Yes. He moved to Washington and worked in the BLS--in the Bureau of Labor Statistics--as commissioner of labor statistics. Later he went from Washington to the University of Michigan. It was while he was at the University in Michigan when he died, and I think his widow is still alive. It's been several years since I've seen Jane Ross, but she lives in the East Bay. I ran into her and their son, Ritchie, some years ago, but I have not been in touch with them.

We started to put together an administration, and then came September, and there were a lot of issues that had piled up in the chancellor's office. One of them which I will talk about now, and then, well--

LaBerge: Another time?

Andreas Papandreou

Cheit: Yes, we'll finish--there's one, and that was Andy Papandreou.

LaBerge: Whom you've spoken about before.

Cheit: Andy Papandreou was a professor of economics at the University of Minnesota when I was a graduate student. I knew him and I knew his first wife, in Minnesota, and then they were divorced. He went to Northwestern, came back to Minnesota and then was recruited by Cal. He was chairman of the economics department out here and when I was invited to come as a visitor from St. Louis University, my invitation came from Art Ross and Andy Papandreou, because it was to work on a project in the institute and to teach Econ 1-AB.

I may have already mentioned this. We had been very good friends of the Papandreous and when we came out, we rented their house on Arch and we bought his old Packard for twenty-five dollars. We used to see them socially. Our kids were similar in ages to their kids.

Andy, as everyone knows, went back to Greece. It was a gradual going back. It started when the economics department here got a Ford Foundation grant to do a--

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LaBerge: Okay, we're talking about Andy Papandreou's [going] back to Greece.

Cheit: Well, he set up an economic institute there. I think I did mention that before I went on my sabbatical, Andy had invited me to come to Greece to work on social insurance in Greece.

Andy went back first as a Berkeley academic. I had talked to him many times and he told me how profoundly his outlook on life was affected by going back to Greece. His father had been prime minister. He told me that he was working on theoretical issues here, and when he went back there it was a question of getting something specifically built or done. And with all the poverty and deprivation in Greece, he just felt that he belonged there.

He went back and he ran for the House of Deputies. He was elected. And that was the beginning of his zooming upward with his political party that I think he really either created or recreated--PASOC. And then there was the coup in Greece and the colonels took over. I have to look up when this was, but it could well have been October of 1967, I'm not sure.

Investigation by Greek Military

Cheit: What happened is that the colonels started to investigate Andy. When I came to the chancellor's desk in Dwinelle Hall during the period that Roger was still at Michigan--there was a stack three feet high of things to look at--and one of the things on that stack was a letter from the Greek ambassador to the United States that had been sent to President Kerr saying that they're investigating Andreas Papandreou. And they're investigating him because it appears that he ran for public office and was elected to public office in Greece while he was on an American payroll, which is a violation of a Greek law and a very serious offense. The question is, was he on the University of California payroll during such and such a time? And Clark Kerr forwarded the letter. He said this is a Berkeley campus matter.

LaBerge: Right. [laughter]

Cheit: And so I don't know whether I've gone into this with you?

LaBerge: No!

Cheit: Okay, well, so there was this letter. First thing, I had to find out the facts. And I talked to our budget officer, Errol Mauchlan.

LaBerge: And he stayed the same?

An Aside on Roger Heyns's Rock

Cheit: Oh, yes, he stayed on and did good work for us. We kept a lot of people. I'm digressing just a moment here, but I want to mention a woman who had worked in the chancellor's office--now deceased--who had fallen out of favor and they had her in Siberia. Early on I spotted her as someone of toughness and intelligence. Her name was Jean [Dobrzensky].

I must tell a story about Jean, if I may extend this digression. A movie producer approached us seeking permission to film on campus. I asked Jean to read the script. She didn't think much of it, so I denied permission. The movie was *The Graduate*, filmed in part at USC, but called Berkeley.

I hired Jean as an assistant and she and Nancy shared my outer office. And indeed, they were in that office when a rock came through--those two women. We once had a protest march and a rock flew through the window of Dwinelle and glass flew where they were sitting. One had a desk this way, and one had a desk on the other side and maybe four or five feet between them. This glass just flew in all over. They weren't cut. They got a broom, swept it up, and went back to their desks. They were *really* troopers.

I should say on that subject, a rock, actually a piece of concrete, came through Roger Heyns' office, and shattered glass and landed on his floor. And he kept that rock on his desk. At his memorial service his son spoke about the rock, and then took that rock out of his pocket and handed it to me.

LaBerge: Oh!

Cheit: And I have that rock. Roger kept it on his desk after he retired and it was among his belongings. After he died his son scooped it up. So his son in a very dramatic moment in the middle of the memorial service gave me that. I now have it on my desk at home.

Nancy [Fujita] and Jean Dobrzensky were these two women in the office. I think I had Jean go dig into Andy Papandreou's terms of appointment. In the meantime, we got a phone call from Maggie from Paris and we got a letter postmarked outside of Greece. I have that letter. The essence of the letter was that they're trying to railroad Andy and throw him in jail, which you know, they did. He was under arrest for a long time. In the call she said that she could not overstate the importance of my investigation. She knew that I was the one who's going to be working on this. How she knew that, I didn't know.

She called and wrote from outside of Greece because she said their phones were tapped, their mail was opened. The call came to our home at night. She was not hysterical, but quite agitated. Her message was that his life was in our hands! My hands!

LaBerge: Wow.

Cheit: That literally it wasn't just his political life, it was his life. This was a very grave offense. And if he was convicted, he might never see the light of day out of jail again. So--

Sending a "Life-Saving" Letter to Greece

LaBerge: It gives me chills.

Cheit: Yes! So that was one of my first problems as the new executive vice chancellor. So we dug into this. And what we found was, it was fuzzy. You know, this was a research appointment and it was nine months, but he got paid in twelve installments, and he had summer pay. Anyway, it was fuzzy. It wasn't a clear-cut case. But it's obvious they had very good intelligence. They knew when he was getting checks from the U.S.

So I drafted one of the great bureaucratic letters of all times, to the Greek ambassador in which I said, "On the one hand this, and the other hand that, and on balance, no. That he wasn't on our payroll when he ran for office, though it might appear that way because of these conventions," and I sent that letter. It went to the ambassador in Washington and he forwarded it. Harvey Leibenstein who was a professor of economics here and who was vacationing in Greece said one day he and his wife were walking down the street in Athens and passed a newsstand with a big newspaper all in Greek, except the headline "Cheit." [laughter]

LaBerge: They didn't know how to write that in Greek?

Cheit: Apparently not. He bought this newspaper to find out, what is this about? What happened was that the government of the colonels, once they got that letter, they leaked it to the press. Maggie later told us that the letter saved his life. Now, there's a certain amount of extra anxiety on her part, but it could be true. Anyway, that was one of the things in the pile on my desk, and I was in touch with Roger about that. Then Roger came back.

We should finish here momentarily.

Two New Assistants

LaBerge: Okay.

Cheit: Roger presented the Michigan budget and came back here. I recommended to him two people that we ought to hire. He said absolutely. One was Robert Cole.

LaBerge: Who wrote this memo we started off with?

Cheit: Yes, and the other was John Searle. And Roger hired them as his assistants.

LaBerge: What was their title?

Cheit: My recollection is that it was special assistant to the chancellor. And so I think when we start next time we ought to start with the Heyns administration into the academic year '65-'66.

LaBerge: Okay, sounds good.

A Busy Year, 1965

Martin Meyerson's Challenges

[Interview 11: January 4, 2001] ##

LaBerge: Well, last time we ended in 1965 when you had become executive vice chancellor, but we thought we'd like to backtrack a little bit and reflect on Martin Meyerson's time as chancellor--or acting chancellor.

Cheit: Well, since our last session, I looked at the chronicle of events prepared by the alumni association that you had sent me. It reminded me of something I felt I hadn't really dealt with adequately earlier, and that is the number of challenges to his administration that Martin Meyerson faced.

He was being tested. Since all of this is chronicled, there's no need for me to go into it in detail, but he was repeatedly challenged on rule enforcement, in a variety of ways. I was struck in going back over the record how well he did. The executive committee tried to help him, we tried to give him whatever credibility that we had, and we gave him advice. But he was the one who was out front. I think a fair reading of the record and of his statements would show that he really did very well.

And then he made that dumb mistake that Clark [Kerr] made, tendering their resignations because of the Filthy Speech incident we've talked about.

LaBerge: Well, you did talk about that and you mentioned you thought that one thing maybe is a reason why he was not appointed chancellor--or considered?

Cheit: I don't know firsthand, but from what I have picked up, it weighed against him in that decision. I do know he was on the short list, and that many of the regents felt favorably disposed toward him, but I think that incident hurt him.

Richmond School Board

Cheit: We've backtracked a bit into 1965, before I became executive vice chancellor. There are a couple of other things I should add. I ran and was reelected to the school board earlier that year.

LaBerge: In Richmond?

Cheit: Yes. For my second term. My first one went '61 to '65 and then the second one [from] '65 and then I resigned sometime in '66 when it became clear that I couldn't stay on because the demands of being vice chancellor were rather large.

Committee on Special Scholarships

Cheit: But there was one other thing in 1965 I want to comment on. The Committee on Special Scholarships was created and we have mentioned that, I believe. It was the Academic Senate's response from a desire to do something constructive after the shooting of President Kennedy. I was a founding member of that committee and for a period I was its chairman. That committee has evolved into the Professional Development Program.

LaBerge: Yes. I think PDP.

Cheit: Yes. Anyway, the plaque that you see over here on the wall was the tenth anniversary plaque. [Pointing] This was given to the founders, and it was December 1973. This was in appreciation from SOS Upward Bound students.

Industrial Welfare Commission, Wage Board

Cheit: Well, there's one other thing that I mentioned about 1965, and that is that the Industrial Welfare Commission of California appointed me as chairman of a wage board. And the way that works is this. The Industrial Welfare Commission is charged with setting labor standards

in various occupations that aren't otherwise covered by California law. This one was on agricultural occupations. The unions who are concerned appoint two people to the wage board. Then the agricultural interests appoint two and then the Industrial Welfare Commission appoints a neutral fifth member a chairman.

LaBerge: And you were the neutral?

Cheit: I was the chairman, yes, the neutral. And that was an extraordinarily valuable experience for me because we went out in the fields during the harvest and looked at sanitary conditions, safety conditions, and working conditions generally. It was my introduction to the tomato harvester, which was developed at Davis. The most controversial aspect of our work was our decision on wages. The Industrial Welfare Commission sets a minimum.

Ours was, if I may say so myself, a path-breaking board because we not only recommended higher wages, but we recommended equality for women and men. That was Wage Commission Order Number Fourteen. Then there were public hearings after we submitted the order and it was '64-'65. Then there were public hearings of the commission both in Southern California—I see from some material I have here—in San Bernardino and then one in Sacramento. Our report was adopted.

And that's where I met Norm Lezin from Santa Cruz, because he was on the Industrial Welfare Commission. He was a commissioner. He owns a large tannery in Santa Cruz. I really came to respect and admire him.

LaBerge: Wow. And this was before--well, I guess it was during [Governor Edmund G., Jr.] Jerry Brown's time, the Agricultural Relations Act.

Cheit: No, no, it was much before. This was much before Jerry Brown. This was '65. This was [Governor Edmund G., Sr.] Pat Brown. There was no Agricultural Labor Relations Act.

LaBerge: Okay. And who appointed you?

Cheit: Well, it was the commission itself. The commission is a government body—a group appointed by the governor. It selects wage boards for specific assignments and then you hold hearings and take testimony. You make a recommendation back to that Industrial Welfare Commission and then the commission moves on your recommendation. I chaired another board in 1976. Anyway, the first one was in 1965.

I was teaching and I guess what I'm trying to say is that it was a fairly busy time for me. And then the Emergency Executive Committee. Well, the Emergency Executive Committee finished in June. And then I've told you I was on the chancellor search committee.

LaBerge: And then you were actually acting chancellor for a short time.

Cheit: For a short period of time because Chancellor Heyns, Roger Heyns, had agreed with the University of Michigan that he would present the budget to the [Michigan] state legislature.

John Searle and Bob Cole as Team Members

Cheit: I think we finished out the fall although we had our share of challenges on rules. Bob Cole of the law school and John Searle both became special assistants to the chancellor.

LaBerge: I have a question on that. In Adrian Kragen's oral history¹ he commented on that and said something about--he considered--I'm just paraphrasing--John Searle a radical and said something to you like, "How could you do that!" And you said, "Because we need him on our team. We'll convert him." And Adrian Kragen's comment was that you were right and he was wrong.

Cheit: [laughs] Ah.

LaBerge: But at the time he didn't see that. So I'm wondering. Tell me about that, and also if you did convert him, how you did that?

Cheit: That's a nice compliment from Adrian. But I didn't convert anyone. John Searle was a very fierce advocate for the Free Speech Movement's issues. He had once tried to bring a speaker to campus and ran into the rule that he had to be off-campus or something. There was a very awkward situation and that alerted him to the rule. He became a very fierce advocate for their position. He was not a fierce advocate for them, or for the movement, but he felt on the merits, they were right. But at the same time, John Searle is an intellectual and he sees the university correctly as the house of intellect.

But he wanted it to be better. He didn't advocate the Free Speech Movement's position because he wanted to reduce the university's authority or create a collective bargaining model of campus administration. None of that. He wanted it to be a better university, and argued that it would be if it opened up to ideas and the clash of ideas. That's his style. And so when the university came to the position that the regents did, I think he thought that the issue had been settled and then he was ready to go back to his academic work. There were some of my colleagues for whom this was a life-transforming experience, and they became radicalized. Not John. He went back to work. So did Bob Cole. He taught at Harvard as a visitor and came back to Boalt and scholarship.

¹Adrian A. Kragen, "A Law Professor's Career: Teaching, Private Practice, and Legislative Representation, 1934-1989," an oral history conducted in 1989 by Carol Hicke, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1991.

When Roger, on my recommendation, invited John to join, he was torn but he was disposed to join. He was a fan of Roger's based on what his colleagues at Michigan had told him and his own experience there. So when Roger approached him, he was predisposed to say yes.

Secondly, John was appalled by some of the things that were happening on the campus after the Free Speech Movement. Just as he saw the regents' rules as a threat to the university that needed to be modified, that the students were right, he [also] saw what was being done to the university by people who constituted the movements that followed the Free Speech Movement—he saw those as a threat and as a problem. So I think a fair reading of John is that he was consistent in his beliefs. So I would say Adrian is generous to me, but wrong.

LaBerge: [laughs] That you weren't out to convert him.

Cheit: I did not convert him, no.

LaBerge: Maybe you just understood where he was.

Cheit: Well, I understood him and what it is he really believed in. And as you know, now he has taken some positions that others characterize as conservative. I truly don't think he has changed.

Now Bob Cole I knew because of his work.

LaBerge: Right, he had written that memo.

Cheit: That famous memo that I think was the crucial piece of intellectual, analytical work.

He was a young law professor, not yet with tenure. You know, he had his own things to worry about. But Roger talked to both of them and they agreed to come to work. Immediately Bob Cole went to work on redrafting a set of campus rules. And you know, I looked at the campus rules recently. I went through them to test my impression that the rules that Bob Cole drafted are essentially the rules today.

LaBerge: Wow.

Cheit: There's a lot of embroidery and a lot of footnotes, and there are some new situations. But if you really look at the essence of the rules in 2000—when I looked at them last year-- they are fundamentally the time, place, and manner rules that he drafted.

I have always admired the intellect and spirit of both of these men. The role that Bob Cole played was crucial in drafting these rules. John Searle did other community things. He dealt with faculty groups, with student groups. Both worked part time. All of us were very busy in the fall. Although the fall had a series of challenges, they weren't as difficult as some of the challenges that came later.

The famous Rules Committee was created and had hearings to get student input on changes in the rules. And one of the proposed changes [laughs] that the Rules Committee recommended was to move the microphone to the lower Sproul Plaza so that amplified speech would be down there, not up above. The Rules Committee met with great tumult--.

LaBerge: Who was it? Was the Rules Committee faculty?

Cheit: Students, faculty, administration--it was all three.

The Burns Committee Report, 1965

Cheit: One of the troublesome events of 1965 was the report of the Burns Committee. I'm sure you recall hearing about it. You were probably much too young when this became an issue.

LaBerge: Well, I was in Michigan, too, but I've heard about it since.

Cheit: California had a senate committee on un-American activities and they brought out their thirteenth report in 1965. This report dated June 18, 1965, was really a very time-consuming, and also a burdensome report, because it had to be answered: Clark Kerr had to answer it, the campus had to answer it. There were accusations about Roger Heyns, about his actions in the Eli Katz case, the man the committee accused of being a Communist.

When Roger came, the Katz case was one of the things he had to decide. Roger went through the procedures, and since there was a unanimous recommendation by the department, and by the Budget Committee, he appointed him. The Burns Committee excoriated him for that. Anyway, without recapitulating the Burns Report, it was very heavily focussed on Berkeley.

LaBerge: Okay. On the Berkeley campus besides the society at large?

Cheit: Oh, yes. Let me just give you just a little taste. There's a major head here called, "University of California: Introduction, Chronology, History of Communism at Berkeley, Red Chinese propaganda, the United Front, the role of Slate, Communist Youth, the Dubois Clubs, Leon Wofsy"--who was another famous name on the campus--"Target Berkeley, The Role of Clark Kerr, The Robley Williams Committee"--that was the committee we've talked about. And then, "The Filthy Speech Movement, Kerr and Meyerson Resign."

This is a wonderful kind of chronology of issues here, looked at from an absolutely partisan and not very sophisticated slant. I found this in my files.

LaBerge: Your files are great!

Cheit: Maybe that's something you ought to have. Anyway, in 1966--

LaBerge: Well, did you as vice chancellor have to answer that? Or are you the main person?

Cheit: There were two things that we did. One is, Clark Kerr's answer, and then Roger prepared an answer. I have here all the statements and press releases that Roger and I made in 1966.

LaBerge: Oh, my gosh.

Special Opportunity Scholarship Program and Bill Somerville

Cheit: And I'll come to our answer to this Burns Committee. So my files on 1966 are really quite good, and I thought I would just comment on a couple of things that stand out here. One of them is on January 4--which is today, January the fourth--1966, a very important date for the campus because the chancellor announced today, I'm reading from his press release, "that it's greatly expanding its community service activities and its efforts to recruit more culturally disadvantaged students."

Roger appointed Bill Somerville as assistant to the chancellor for special projects. He asked him to do two things: first, to work on coordinating and administering service to the surrounding communities. The press release says, "A thousand students are expected this year to take part in community service activities, and their number is rising: tutoring in various schools, in-school assistance, working with disturbed children, teaching in San Quentin," all the kinds of things that students do. Roger was trying to make this more effective, to try to get money to facilitate this work, and where it was appropriate, to have them have educational objectives and get student credit for their work.

And then the second assignment for Somerville was to "encourage disadvantaged students to raise their educational objectives including the faculty-sponsored Special Opportunity Scholarship program. With Somerville's help they will specifically seek more such students for enrollment at Berkeley." So his job was to recruit more students in these categories.

One of the first things Bill did was to conduct an ethnic and racial survey. This was before federal forms were required. He announced that he was going to be doing this on January 5, 1966. And so he did this survey, and he identified what the ethnic makeup of our student body was. If we jump forward to 1969-70, I can't remember exactly now, the Department of Labor and I think the EOC if it existed then, came out and presented Roger an award because apparently the Somerville program was the first of its kind. Certainly it was the first program of its kind that they knew about. We never claimed it was the first but they presented him with an award, for the campus.

Roger Heyns never made anything of that because he felt that there was so much to do and this was such a big problem that the last thing he wanted to do was to claim credit for being first at trying to solve it. Also it was one of Roger Heyns' maxims that he used to tell the staff, that in a university you can either get things done or get credit for getting things done, but it's very hard to do both. It was his characteristic that if you could get things done, you never cared about getting the credit. And this was a prime example. He was a visionary. Anyway, let me just finish with Bill Somerville and recruiting minority and disadvantaged students as they were then called.

It's a measure of our--and let me say my, because I really was responsible for dealing with him--naivete, my lack of really deep understanding of the problem. We assumed--Bill Somerville did and I did--that he would work his way out of a job within five years. That he would have recruited enough minority students to Berkeley so that there would be critical mass and that it wouldn't be necessary to continue to do that, that we'd have overcome that problem.

It's a measure of our success that by the third year he was on the job there were enough black students on campus that we were confronted with a demand that he be replaced by a black administrator. [laughs] And so I consider that a measure of success, but only one small measure of success. Anyway, that's the Bill Somerville story. But here we are still struggling with that issue now a third of a century later.

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: But so that was the Bill Somerville [story].

LaBerge: And you supervised him?

Cheit: Yes. But I give Roger the credit for the idea and for moving it forward. If I may, I'd like to add an aside on the subject of ethnic surveys.

LaBerge: Please do.

Cheit: The first time the federal government asked the campus for an ethnic census--I can't recall the date, it was probably in 1966. I sent out the forms asking department chairmen to indicate the racial makeup of their faculty and staff. Back came a letter from the chairman of anthropology, William Bascom, telling me how dumb this was. Didn't I know that we are all Negroid?

LaBerge: What did you do with that?

Cheit: I wrote him a polite letter thanking him, and asking him to please fill out the form the best way he could. He promptly sent back a form showing that all faculty and staff of anthropology were negroes. That's the way I sent it to the feds.

LaBerge: [laughs] Maybe this is a good time to ask about the job of vice chancellor.

The Job of Executive Vice Chancellor ##

LaBerge: Well, when you were hired, what did your job description look like, or were you kind of making it yourself?

Cheit: Well, sort of both, but I think I mentioned earlier that the chancellor and I were in the same organizational box. We used to joke about that. We never made too fine a point about who reported to whom because I always acted in his stead. It interested me, by the way, to see that the latest organizational chart today for our campus now, has Chancellor [Robert] Berdahl and Executive Vice Chancellor [Paul] Gray in exactly the same alignment.

In practice, Roger always kept academic administration under him, and Bob Connick, who was the vice chancellor for academic affairs, dealt with Roger.

Another important fact about Roger Heyns is that he really cared about academic administration. He read every file when there were important cases—David Louisell at the law school, now deceased, a very famous professor on this campus, had a big offer from Iowa. He was seriously thinking of taking it. He had conservative views and had been criticized by some of the lefties in the faculty, and by some students. He was a very important intellectual force in the law school and on this campus.

I remember one rainy winter day Roger walked up to the law school to his office. He had made an appointment to come up and see him in his office to tell him how important it was for him to stay. He did stay, by the way.

LaBerge: Wow.

Cheit: Anyway, in answer your question, I did get involved occasionally in academic affairs—dean searches for example. But I did not on regular academic affairs. Connick reported to Roger. But all of the other things—you know, student affairs, business, the police, athletics, reported to the executive vice chancellor.

LaBerge: Okay. And what about, were you still teaching?

Cheit: I tried to teach one course a year. I think in the four years that I was executive vice chancellor, '65 through '69, I think I taught one course in three of the four years.

LaBerge: I was wondering about what your position becomes in the Academic Senate once you become a part of the administration?

Cheit: Well, you retain your professorship, and you're simply shifted to the administrative payroll.

LaBerge: And how are you looked upon by the other faculty once you kind of--

Cheit: That you've made the switch, I think. And I don't think it's as keen today but when the faculty was as divided as it was, for some people you're on the other side. Well, once in a while I went to department meetings in the business school, but [laughs] it was a full-time job.

[looking at notes] There are a couple of illustrative things that I wanted to mention. For example, on January 10, I gave a talk to the Academic Senate because the chancellor was away. If you look at the subjects I talked about--the Campus Rules Committee is now working on revisions that are necessary. The chairman of the committee was Lloyd Ulman. And then I announced to the Academic Senate the appointment of Bill Somerville and what he would be doing. I said his four main areas of concern are minority enrollment in Berkeley, and then creative supervision of Berkeley, shared money allocated for community services and other special projects.

I noted that the undergraduate major in journalism had been suspended by the College of Letters and Science in '65, and that we had appointed a twelve-member committee to advise us on the future of journalism at Berkeley. The twelve-member committee submitted its report to us, and said that we ought to create a graduate school of journalism that offers the master's. I was announcing to the senate here that Vice Chancellor Connick has sent the report to the Educational Policy Committee and the Budget Committee for their advice. That was one of the things we pushed ahead with and now the campus has a very distinguished school.

Inauguration of Chancellor Roger Heyns, March 1966

Cheit: Another example is the School of Public Policy, that was created during the Heyns administration, also now an outstanding professional school. One other item I want to mention is the twenty-fifth of March, which was the inauguration of Roger Heyns. That was quite an occasion. I would like to say a few words about that.

Inaugural Speech

LaBerge: Was this also Charter Day?

Cheit: Yes, it was a Charter Day. Roger didn't have a speechwriter. We all had a hand in his speeches. He would sometimes do a first draft and give them to us. Sometimes he'd just write

out some topic sentences, but Bob Cole, John Searle, and I all had a lot to do with his speeches. And then he would take our work and do his thing.

He was a wonderful speaker and writer. I won't go through this talk that he made on his inauguration, but it's a wonderful speech and it reflects, once again, his key characteristic, and that is he really cared about education and the academic mission of the campus. When he had a chance to talk about something, he talked about educational issues. If you look at what this talk is about--it's a very insightful talk about the university and what it ought to be doing and what his hopes were for Berkeley. And that date was March the twenty-fifth.

LaBerge: And can we get a copy of that, too?

Cheit: Sure.

LaBerge: Okay. Maybe we even have one. And I'll bring this back to you?

Cheit: All right. But you now have it. Now, on Charter Day, the Charter Day speaker--there were two distinguished visitors at Charter Day. One was John Gardner who was secretary of HEW [Health, Education and Welfare], as it was then called, and the other was Arthur Goldberg, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. And of course, when people knew about Arthur Goldberg coming and that he was ambassador to the UN where he represented LBJ's [President Lyndon Baines Johnson] view about the war, the people opposed to the war in Vietnam really got cranked up about it.

They wanted to prevent his speaking, drown him out. To their credit, a group of faculty members led by [Professor Reginald] Reggie Zelnick, said that they would do everything in their power to try to convince the students and non-students who wanted to disrupt and prevent him from speaking to cool it, if Roger could get Arthur Goldberg to talk to the students or have a debate about Vietnam--U.S. policy in Vietnam. And Roger called him and talked to him and he said, sure, he'd be glad to.

It was quite a day because several things happened. One was the Charter Day and the inauguration. It didn't go off flawlessly. Some people hung up banners and protested, but there wasn't a major disruption. Some protestors were led out, others were shushed up. So the Charter Day, with a few bumps along the way, went well and Roger gave this wonderful speech.

Arthur Goldberg Debate

Cheit: There were really four events that day. The second was the debate in Harmon Gym. Goldberg went to the Harmon Gym and had a debate. The gym was packed--and disciplined. I think Reggie Zelnick and the people who worked with him deserve a lot of credit. It was

absolutely quiet. They didn't boo him down because he came to debate, to expose his views.

LaBerge: Yes. And who did he debate?

Cheit: Well, I can't remember. I think it was Reggie and perhaps Franz Schurmann.

LaBerge: Any students?

Cheit: No. It was two faculty members. People were silent or sat on their hands for Goldberg. But, roared approval of the opposition. But anyway, it served a very valuable function. And I give Reggie Zelnick and the people who worked with him a lot of credit.

Charter Day Banquet

Cheit: That was--I said there were four things that happened on campus that day. The third event was the Charter Day celebration in San Francisco. And as you know, on Charter Day, the Alumni Association organizes a Charter Day banquet and these are large events, perhaps a couple thousand people in a ballroom or auditorium. It's the practice for the chancellor to say something and to recognize an alumnus of the year. I just noticed that Maxine Hong Kingston is going to be alumna of the year this March [2001]. I can't remember who the alumnus of--.

LaBerge: Oh, but we can look that up.

Cheit: Yes. Who the alumnus of the year was [John W. Gardner]. After the Charter Day, I went back to my office, raced home, got into my tuxedo, and June and I raced over to the hotel. Arthur Goldberg came to the Harmon Gym and went through the debate, went to his hotel, got into his tuxedo and came to the Charter Day banquet. And then by tradition, the Charter Day speaker makes a few light remarks. Arthur Goldberg came out of the steel-workers union as their lawyer and then he was appointed to the Supreme Court. He gave a wonderful talk at Charter Day. He had a series of funny stories about Kennedy, about himself, about Johnson--and he didn't talk about Vietnam, didn't talk about his debate. He was utterly charming.

LaBerge: Do you want to tell one now that you remember?

Cheit: All right, I will. One of the things he told about was when he was with Kennedy when Kennedy gave that "Ich bin ein Berliner" speech. After they left Berlin they went to Switzerland. They were all hiking and he said that he went off on a hike into the mountains. Kennedy was worried because Art had gone off hiking and he hadn't come back. He was worried. So the story he told was that Kennedy alerted the Red Cross that they should look for him. The Red Cross went out with loudspeakers saying, "Goldberg, Goldberg, it's the Red Cross." And the way he says Kennedy told the story was that a voice came booming out of the

mountain saying, "I gave at the office." [laughter]

That was the spirit of the evening. He's very charming and he did a tremendous service for the university and for his mission. He defended the policy in Vietnam and then he went to that rather pre-disposed audience for the debate. I really admired him and we felt indebted to him.

Vietnam Day Committee Dance and Regent Catherine Hearst

Cheit: I said there were four events that day. Number four was the Vietnam Day Committee dance. This was a very active group led mainly off campus but had a lot of campus people. The Vietnam Day Committee actually had a house--a Vietnam Day House, which was their office, which was off campus. After the big debate, the group reserved Harmon Gym to have a dance that night, a celebration dance. That dance became a very important event because apparently there was a lot of celebrating.

When there are incidents on campus that involve the campus police they file a report, particularly if there are violations of law. The sergeant, and perhaps two or three policemen were at the Harmon Gym. The sergeant filed a report that was really quite lurid. It was about thick clouds of marijuana in the air, intoxication, people throwing up, fornication in the stands. Talk about sex, drugs, and rock and roll, it was all there, because there was also a rock'n roll band. [laughs] That report was promptly leaked to the *Oakland Tribune*, the district attorney, and soon to Catherine Hearst.

LaBerge: Who was a regent?

Cheit: Yes, a regent, the mother of Patty Hearst. For Catherine Hearst, that dance, or at least the report on the dance became a very important episode. There are many aspects of that story. Let me just mention one of them because it involves my run-in with Catherine Hearst.

Catherine Hearst called me, as she used to do from time to time. She called me to say she'd like to have a copy of the police report on the Vietnam Day Committee Dance, as it was called. And by this time there had already appeared in the *Oakland Tribune* a story about how lurid the dance was and how bad the behavior was there. I assumed that she already had a copy but that she couldn't use it, because she got it, I suspect through the paper somehow. So she asked me, would I send her a copy of the report. I said I'd get back to her.

Then I talked to my colleagues and tried to analyze what the proper procedures were here. We decided on the following principles--which I then told her when I called her back. I told her that the regents are entitled to any document in the university. They're our masters. However, there are procedures for getting documents, and in a case like this, if the board asked for this report, of course they could have it, or if the chairman of the board asked for the report in the name of the board, I would get the report and submit it immediately. But I couldn't

submit it to an individual regent. We can't run a place where individual regents can go into the administration and ask for things. It has to be done through the board or its chairman.

She and I used to have a kind of a sparring--a friendly sparring relationship. But she's not a person who was used to being told "no." And so she turned up the heat. She said, "Budd, I want that report, and I want you to send it to me today." And I repeated what I'd just said--that I'd be glad to send it through the chairman of the board if he asked for it. And then she said to me, "I'm going to get your ass." [laughter] Click.

LaBerge: How did this relationship start from the beginning?

Cheit: Well, I knew her as a regent; I used to go to regents' meetings.

LaBerge: But she called you rather than call Roger Heyns or rather than calling--

Cheit: Yes, she called me. She called me, yes. Perhaps Roger was unavailable or away. She knew I was executive vice chancellor and that through the vice chancellor for business, the police reported to me. Anyway, that was the last thing she said to me before she hung up. Roger, of course, knew what I was doing and supported it fully.

LaBerge: Right.

Cheit: And she may then have called him, but I don't think so. Then she demanded that the chairman of the board--it was probably Ted Meyer who was then chairman. She asked the chairman of the board to make the demand, so he called me and then butter wouldn't melt in my mouth. [laughter]

LaBerge: Absolutely, right.

Cheit: Of course, I said, if the chairman of the board wants any document I will provide it. I had a copy--and sent it to him. Then, we, the Heyns administration, found ourselves in the position of having to write an answer to the accusations in the report. We had to go into, who can rent the Harmon Gym and what sort of deposit and can anybody get the place and throw up in the stands and fornicate under the stands--so [laughs] we had to--these are the high level things that we had to deal with. And we did.

But then if you go through the press statements or the reports to the regents that we had to make, you will find statements dealing with the VDC dance. [looking through papers]

Here's one. Here's Roger's first statement to the press: "I'm concerned about reports of the conduct at a Vietnam Day Committee Dance on March 25 and I have ordered an investigation. I've met with the district attorney staff." I think I drafted this, as I recall. "I've met with the district attorney staff. Many dances have been held in Harmon Gym, but the VDC dance was the first to cause serious problems. New procedures were applied immediately and we're going to have an investigation."

This was a statement issued on the sixth of April. And then there are statements saying what the rule changes are and what's going to happen and so on. Anyway, that dance, because of what was seen as a laxity in rule enforcement on the campus and the ability of people to walk over us, became an important symbolic event.

LaBerge: Whatever happened with you and Mrs. Hearst?

Cheit: [laughs] Well, she didn't get my rear. But after that she was just kind of sweetly over-polite to me.

Fundraising for the Opera in the Greek Theatre from Randolph Hearst ##

Cheit: However, you know, one complication of that was my relationship with Randy. I've always had an interest in the arts on campus, and one of my jobs was to try to raise money for the performance--for the opera in the Greek Theatre. The numbers were so friendly in those days. We could get the San Francisco Opera to the Greek Theatre--I've forgotten the arithmetic now--but you'd figure out how many tickets you'd be likely to sell, and the deficit would be about ten thousand dollars, numbers that today look like a rounding error. I used to make up that deficit by going to Randy [Randolph Apperson] Hearst, her husband. And he came through. [laughter] But I must say after that incident, our relationship cooled. But he never mentioned it to me.

Randy, he was a fine gentleman, and Catherine, who in some ways I liked, she was a Southern belle--a very interesting woman, and even though we had this incident between us, my heart bled for her when her daughter was kidnapped. I really felt badly for them. But anyway, I used to raise money from Randy. And he came through for a while.

LaBerge: That wasn't part of your job as vice chancellor?

Cheit: Not officially. It was a job I did because I was interested.

LaBerge: Are we finished with the repercussions of the dance? About appearing before the regents?

Report to the Burns Committee, 1966

Cheit: Well, we're finished with the immediate repercussions. But, you know, when people were critical of us later, this incident was always thrown in our face.

LaBerge: Right, that you didn't have control.

Cheit: That's right, that people were walking over us and that non-students were using university property and abusing it, and behaving in anti-social ways and so on. And so now, on May 6, both Roger and Clark Kerr issued statements responding to the follow-up report of the—

LaBerge: HUAC or--it's not the HUAC, is it?

Cheit: It's the senate committee [on Un-American Activities]. And the statement that Clark made was just one page. Roger's was two pages. And I actually helped Clark work on this. Clark is a wonderful writer. He boiled this down to one page. And I won't read even the one page, but I will just read a couple of points. This was the 1966 report, the one I've quoted earlier was the '65.

LaBerge: Okay.

Cheit: "This report, like its predecessor (in '65) contains distortions, half truths, inaccuracies, and statements and situations taken out of context. The report greatly strengthens my previously stated conviction that a document of this kind should be issued outside the protection of legislative immunity. I again declare my willingness to appear before the committee at an open hearing." And then he deals with some of the issues, but he says they're talking about the campus issues, that the chancellor is dealing with.

Roger issued a statement the same day, and I'll just read the first sentence. He says, "My immediate reaction to the report of the senate subcommittee is surprise. Here is a large document purporting to include a factual study of the Berkeley campus, yet no one from the subcommittee has ever spoken to me about it. They have not asked me what the facts are or sought my interpretation of the events." And so he said, "I won't even try a detailed reply to allegations and innuendoes of the university as a sinister, conspiratorial plot. I would rather respond with a brief personal comment." And then he talks about what the campus has done and what he has tried to do and we'll go about our business. And it's a wonderful statement. These people were losing their influence--it was Senator [Hugh W.] Burns.

LaBerge: And Burns. Is this B-U-R-N, or--

Cheit: B-U-R-N.

LaBerge: Hugh Burns?

Cheit: His name is Hugh W. Burns with an S at the end. It was the Burns Committee.

Challenges to the Time, Place and Manner Rules

Cheit: Now, the rest of 1966 there were several things that ought to be recalled. Items I just noted in passing. One is that there were a number of challenges to the rules. One of the earliest challenges was on the size of signs that could be displayed out in the plaza. And I don't have in front of me the exact date this occurred, and I think it might have been in the fall of '65 during Roger's absence. The time, place, and manner rules--and this is manner--said students could have signs I guess as big as a card table or the front of a card table.

So a group--and I think it was the Vietnam Day Committee--set up a sign that was a huge sandwich board that rested on the plaza. It was probably six feet tall and probably two times the permitted size. It was a huge sign. It was clear why they set it out there. And it was one of the aspects of the genius of people who led these movements, that they would always probe at the margin to try to provoke a harsh response. So we tried to figure out what we should do about this. Should we send policemen out there? It would, of course, be another police incident in the plaza.

It was John Searle and Bob Cole who came up with an idea. The way to handle this is in a non-symbolic way, and that is, send a custodian out there. [laughs] And so we did. Some guy in bib overalls walked out there and gathered up the sign and took it away. It was an example of the kind of cat and mouse games that we were forced to play.

In addition, there were fairly serious challenges to the rules. A group that called itself by the unfortunate acronym of PROC was guilty of serious and aggravated violations of the rules. Seven violations, the hearing officer found. And so there was a lot of interest, would our system work? Professor [John] Hetland from the law school did a professional job in holding hearings. He recommended some people be dismissed, some people be suspended, others he found innocent.

This is just a little side-light. That hearing was chaotic. Bob Cole and I attended. This group brought in a volunteer lawyer, Victor Van Bourg, now deceased. A very good labor lawyer, and he tried to bully people in the room. He came over to where Bob Cole and I were sitting, on the plaintiff side, and simply snatched our papers out of our hands. In a courtroom, he'd be in contempt. Of course, Hetland as a hearing officer didn't have contempt power. So it was a chaotic hearing. But Hetland came through.

LaBerge: And who was the group doing the hearing, the committee?

Cheit: Oh, he was the hearing officer. Hetland from the law school, yes.

Anyway, it was a very effective hearing and his work stuck. Now, I'm back to the Senate Committee on Un-American Activities. The regents asked for a report, and so it fell to Roger. I have here dated June 6, 1966--a nineteen-page report in which Roger gives a response to the regents. I'll just mention a couple of the heads: "Relationship of the administration to the

campus VDC.” And then we go into the dance and other things. “The VDC as an international conspiracy,” which was one of their allegations. Then we were also criticized because the mime troupe, the famous San Francisco Mime Troupe was brought over here and they use a lot of profanity. What in those days was considered the ultimate four-letter word, today appears in the first scene of many films.

LaBerge: Right. [laughs]

Is the University an Extension of the City Street?

Cheit: The report discusses the mime troupe and alleges that its productions were “incredibly obscene”—that’s a quote—“too vulgar for public presentation.” We had to answer all of this, but it also raised a very interesting question that I want to say a little bit about and that is the extent to which the university is just an extension of the city street. A year or so ago I gave a short talk about the aftermath of the Free Speech Movement and discussed this issue.¹ It was a panel discussion with Jackie Goldberg, Reg Zelnick, and several others.

We’ll come to that later, but one of the things that’s relevant now, the mime troupe incident, because the question is, is the university simply an extension of the city street? And if that’s the case, is it the case that anything that you can do in the city, you can do in the university? We used to use as an example topless dancing, it’s lawful in San Francisco, and I suspect it is in Berkeley also. Well, if that’s the case, could a student group rent Wheeler Auditorium and put on a topless review? And if not, why not? The question of how the university standards ought to differ from those of the city and why and what the theory of it was, was a question that we worked with a great deal.

I think one of the unfortunate aspects of that period was that the distinction has weakened more than it should. Vagrants now camp out in public libraries. Public libraries have struggled with how to deal with this, and some cities have given in. Well—suppose you are a student and trying to find a seat in a library and can’t because all the chairs in your section are taken up by homeless people. Can we kick them out, or if they can go to the city library, why can’t they go in our library? These are the sorts of questions, and the mime troupe surfaced them.

Now we, those of us in the chancellor’s office, thought the mime troupe was hilarious. I got a little tired of them after a while, but the first time around they were quite original. They did use a lot of what then was considered profanity, but they raised this other question, to what extent can we regulate that kind of speech?

LaBerge: Would you in the chancellor’s office talk about it? Would you go to the Academic Senate and

¹See Appendix for remarks, Fall 1998, to American Association of Universities

the faculty?

Cheit: Well, on these kinds of issues it would start with a seminar with Roger Heyns leading. He would gather us and we would try to analyze the issue, with Cole and Searle on hand. Bob Cole is an expert on constitutional law and knows a lot about the First Amendment. He loves the university and understands why the university can't just be an extension of the city street. Anyway, that's how we started. And then if there were going to be an important rule change, we then of course would announce it and solicit reaction before proceeding.

Navy Recruitment Table, November 1966

Cheit: Now, we are approaching near the end of 1966 when the campus had many incidents. One happened in the fall.

LaBerge: Is this the navy recruitment people?

Cheit: Yes. And what happened there was that--let's see, November 30. [looking at papers] Now, I have here--and here is what happened--skipping the details. The navy and the army recruited here routinely. You can understand the sensitivities of those actively in opposition to the Vietnam War. Our position was if the VDC can have a table on campus, certainly the navy can have a table on campus. The navy wanted to set up a recruitment table by the ASUC bookstore, and then they'd do it in accordance with the rules. We consulted the president of the ASUC and he said that was fine. I want to come back to that.

Here is my statement on the matter of November 30: "It's a matter of long-standing policy to permit governmental agencies such as the Peace Corps and the armed services to recruit on campus. The armed services have used the bookstore area in the past and during the current quarter." Some people off campus then decided to set up a table next to them, an anti-recruiting table. You can visualize how this would work.

LaBerge: Right.

Cheit: Yes, and then of course that other table was removed.

LaBerge: Because they didn't have a permit?

Cheit: Yes. Their table was removed and there was pushing and a scuffle. They then sat-in and blocked the entrance to the ASUC bookstore. Eventually the ASUC store had to be closed. Bill Boyd, the then-vice chancellor for student affairs, asked them to disperse and they didn't. Roger Heyns was away at the National Science Foundation. He was on the NSF board.

We waited and the group didn't disperse. So late in the afternoon, what we decided to do--

and this was my decision--we issued warrants for the arrest of seven non-student participants. Jerry Rubin was prominently among them.

LaBerge: Was Mario Savio?

Cheit: No. We issued no arrest warrants for students. And the warrants for arrest were for public nuisance and maybe trespassing. Public nuisance was chosen as the basis for arrest on a carefully thought-out basis--we used the least symbolic basis for this action for removing these non-students. And, in fact, they were a public nuisance. Warrants for their arrest were issued, and they were arrested. No warrants were issued for students, but during the time of the arrests of these seven non-students, three students tried to stop the arresting officers and they were arrested for interfering with police. That was the only police action that was taken.

This whole thing was led by non-students. And as I said in my statement that day, "throughout the afternoon the ASUC president and administration members sought to discuss and settle the issue but they were rebuffed. And because of this, and acting in the absence of Chancellor Heyns who was East on educational matters, I asked the police to arrest those primarily responsible for the illegal actions that disrupted the university."

If you have read, as I'm sure you have, John Searle's book¹ on the campus wars, he analyzes how a radical movement grows on the campus. The approach is to have a provocation; the university will respond, probably clumsily; a lot of other students will be outraged that the university is committing this atrocity, and they become radicalized; and that's how you grow a movement. Well, that certainly happened.

Whether we responded clumsily or not, I'll let others judge. Then there was a meeting called that night in the Pauley Ballroom. The purpose was to decide how the student movement should respond to this atrocity. A lot of interest groups then participated, for example, the TAs, who wanted to unionize, immediately said, "Well, there should be a strike," and they even got the central labor union in Oakland to give tentative approval to a strike. They made certain demands. It was a huge meeting.

June Cheit Comes to Pauley Ballroom Protest

LaBerge: Did you go to the meeting?

Cheit: Yes! They had asked me if I'd want to speak, and I said, "Of course." So I went home to dinner, and then I told June. She said, "Well, you're not going there alone. I'm going to come

¹John R. Searle, *The Campus War: A Sympathetic Look at the University in Agony* (New York: World Publishing Company, 1971)

with you.” So she was out in the audience, milling in the audience. What the organizers did was what is done in a situation like this, humiliate the administration.

LaBerge: Right.

Cheit: I was standing there waiting to talk and other people railed against me and railed against the university. I listened to all this and then eventually I spoke. I gave a very straightforward statement of what had happened. And June's part of this was, as I spoke and gave my account and people were booing, a kid next to her started to chant, "Lynch Cheit."

LaBerge: Oh, gosh.

Cheit: And then two of them started chanting and she said to them, "Excuse me, what are you saying?" And they said, "Lynch Cheit," and she said, "Look, my name is Cheit. I'm his wife. What are you saying? Have you thought about what you're saying?" She said they seemed sheepish and they kind of melted away into the crowd rather than confront her. But it's a very good example of what kind of hysteria gets whipped up.

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: Well, what happened was then the group quote "voted" that there would be a strike.

LaBerge: And strike meaning strike from classes?

Cheit: Yes.

LaBerge: Or the TAs strike from teaching?

Cheit: A strike from classes. Two days later Roger Heyns issued a statement—he's back to this mess. [laughs] "We've done a quick survey," he says, this is December 2, "and while there are 7,400 classes each week in eighty departments, I can't give you a precise total report, but it's apparently very, very few classes have been missed." And then he says that, "In the aftermath of this we ought to look into what's the best way to protect the campus from illegal forces from outside the university, but for now, we're going to make sure that classes meet as normal," and they did.

Subpoena from Melvin Belli

Cheit: Now just a couple of quick things before we end for today. At the trial--

LaBerge: Of the seven non-students?

Cheit: Of the seven non-students, I was called the night before as an adverse witness. It's an intimidating device. The trial was going on and I was never called as a witness. And one night the doorbell rang. June will remember this more than I will because she was startled. The doorbell rang about ten o'clock at night. And she opened up and our patio--we have the patio outside the front door--was filled with people.

##

Cheit: The lawyer for the seven people who volunteered his services was Melvin Belli.

LaBerge: Oh.

Cheit: "King of Torts" as he used to call himself. And so I'm going to end here on the witness stand, yes, with Melvin Belli.

LaBerge: Okay.



Executive Vice Chancellor Earl F. Cheit, 1968.

Photo by John Pearson

[Interview 12: January 31, 2001] ##

LaBerge: Well, last time we ended in 1966 and we talked about the navy recruiting table. I don't know if we talked a whole lot about the fact that there was a strike afterwards--is that right? Strike of the TAs or was it just a general student strike?

Cheit: Well, I think it was originally called as a student strike. But to be sure I'd have to refresh my recollection, but I think that's what it was.

LaBerge: Because there was a TA strike, too, that we want to talk about after this.

Cheit: Yes, that's afterward, yes.

Adverse Witness in the Public Nuisance Case

LaBerge: Okay, well, anyway you had just started to tell me that you were called as an adverse witness in the case.

Cheit: That's right. I was served a subpoena at night, actually, at my home, to come the following morning in the case. And the case was, the arrest was of all non-students, and Jerry Rubin among them. We had them arrested for public nuisance because the statute fit and we thought it was symbolically the best, and so that was the charge. At the trial, Mel Belli, a San Francisco plaintiff's lawyer famous for big damage suits, was defending these people. I had the interesting experience of being examined--and really it's more like being cross-examined when you're called as an adverse witness--by him.

LaBerge: So you didn't have a chance to get an attorney? You had no chance to--

Cheit: No, no. No preparation, no nothing. Interestingly enough, they were all found guilty. The case had a conclusion that would have been even harder to get in Berkeley as the years went on. This was a local [muni] court.

LaBerge: Okay. And do you remember who the judge was?

Cheit: No, I don't.

LaBerge: Not Wakefield Taylor?

Cheit: I don't remember.

More on Student Strike and Protests Against the War

Cheit: Anyway the upshot of that episode though was that there was an attempt to call a student strike. But it rather fizzled out. [tape break]

With the Vietnam Day Committee--the VDC was really using the campus to organize and pushing the rules to the limit, or a little bit beyond the limit, in the hope that the campus would respond and then use what the campus does as a recruiting device to get more recruits for the cause. And in general it worked pretty well. [laughs] I think I mentioned earlier John Searle's book on *The Campus War* that analyzes this process very well. We had a lot of that. I would say that navy recruitment table was an incident in that category.

LaBerge: What about more on the Vietnam War? Like a Vietnam moratorium day?

Cheit: Well, there was a series of events--marches--and many of these started on the campus. For example, when there had been race riots in other cities--a group planned to have a torch-light parade through West Oakland, through some neighborhoods that they thought might be incendiary. There were various marches, Vietnam Day Committee marches and sometimes they would comply with campus rules and other times they would not. And as I said, many times they were designed really to provoke us. And if you look over this period, there was a whole series of these events.

Once, after a violent episode on campus, I had an urgent call for an appointment from a young campus police sergeant I knew well and admired, Jim Sicheneder. He was upset. Some people had been throwing rocks at him and he did something he had never done in his career. In the heat of the moment, he drew his gun.

LaBerge: Wow! What did he do?

Cheit: He realized what he had done and it scared him. He put the gun back in his holster, and that night decided to talk to me about leaving police work. I urged him not to make a decision now; that I understood his reaction. After we talked a while, I told him that I would talk to the chief, and he should take a couple of days off, and we'd talk some more. I was pleased that later he said he would stay.

Sometimes we responded deftly and other times not so deftly. The people doing this understood that the regents were quite provokable and that we'd get calls from the regents, asking what was going on. I don't know if I've mentioned this about my call from Pat Brown.

Phone Call from Governor Pat Brown

LaBerge: No. We talked about Mrs. Hearst, but not Pat Brown.

Cheit: No? Well, Pat Brown, I got to know him quite well. He was a wonderful man, a good governor and a good friend of the university's. One morning and I can't remember now--this was '66 or '67--anyway, one morning there was a story in the paper about a group of students pouring red paint over some records in a symbolic act like they were pouring blood over records. It was a campus incident and it happened at Stanford. A group of Stanford students had poured paint over some student records that might be used for the draft.

I had read the story at breakfast. That morning I had a call from Pat Brown. Governor Brown called and we knew each other--he called me Budd, I called him Governor Brown. [laughter] And he said, "Budd, I was reading about this paint they put, this symbolic blood, they put on these records. Why do these things have to keep happening at Berkeley like that?" [laughter]

And I said, "Well, Governor," I said, "we have our share of incidents, but this one, you know, didn't happen at Berkeley, it happened at Stanford."

"Oh," he said, "well, yes, but a lot of them have been happening at Berkeley." [laughter]

We talked about that incident in a chancellor's staff meeting because so fixed were we in the external mind, with these incidents, that wherever they happened, they were ascribed to Berkeley. And in fact, Roger Heyns often used in his speeches a quote from the [San Francisco] *Chronicle* in which a young man did something off the campus--some act of civil disobedience--and he was described as a "would-be Berkeley student." [laughter] A would-be Berkeley student. That sort of capped it for Roger, the extent to which we were in people's minds and wherever things happened the reference point was Berkeley.

Morale in the Chancellor's Office; Various Incidents

LaBerge: Well, how did you all in the chancellor's office keep your spirits up, keep responding to all the accusations? Because it was--you weren't getting any good news from anybody?

Cheit: Not as much as we'd like. To their great credit, the two people who dealt with the news--Dick Hafner and Ray Colvig--always played it straight.

LaBerge: And what kept you all going?

Cheit: Well, we kept each other going. There was a very good spirit in the chancellor's office. We did have good news about the campus' standing. The American Council on Education ranked Berkeley as the nation's number one university.

We also knew that despite the visible protests, that students were pleased by their academic experience here. Neil Smelser was doing studies of students' attitudes. His data showed that the students who felt that their experience at Berkeley was very good or outstanding tended to run about 65, 70, or 75 percent. So we knew from Neil Smelser's data that the vast majority of students were very pleased with their education here.

The feeling in the chancellor's office was that our obligation was to protect the university and to do what we could to advance it. We came to see ourselves as working between an uprising both on campus and off--against various social ills and the Vietnam War. The campus was a place for recruitment of students, manpower, and a very important symbol. Our immediate job was to keep the university going. We saw ourselves as protecting the university's norms and ideals. It was easy to be enthusiastic about that.

There were plenty of times when we were disheartened. Someone tried to burn our offices. One night someone threw an ignited flare into the conference room in Dwinelle Hall, the chancellor's conference room. It burned a big spot on the floor, but it didn't ignite the place, which I assume was the intent.

We had some luck another time when a janitor found an explosive device behind a drape in one of the auditoriums in Dwinelle. It was removed and disarmed. We knew this was serious stuff.

I think I've mentioned earlier the rock that was thrown through the chancellor's window and which I have now. And another that was thrown through the window of the office that Nancy Fujita and Jean Dobrzensky shared. That one really made us more angry than usual because suddenly a group of shouting people appeared and then threw a rock through the window. We had no knowledge of any march or protest action that day. Only later did we learn that these were people who had been organized by a movie producer--the guy who made *Zabriskie Point*, [Michelangelo] Antonioni. He had organized this and shot some footage.

LaBerge: To use in a movie?

Torching of Wheeler Auditorium, 1969

Cheit: Yes! Yes, yes. It irritated us. But as I mentioned earlier, these two women swept up the glass and just went back to their work.

I would say the one incident that occurred that was one of the most disheartening to me

was the torching of Wheeler Auditorium.

LaBerge: Okay. Tell me just the circumstances that you remember.

Cheit: Well, I remember getting a call that Wheeler Hall was on fire and I rushed to the campus--this was at night. It might have been 1968. I'm not sure. What they did was to torch Wheeler Hall. [January 1969]

LaBerge: And you would have gotten a phone call from the police?

Cheit: The campus police called me, yes. Bob Cole came and we were standing there watching. The whole building didn't burn. The firemen contained it, but the fire gutted the auditorium. That was very disheartening. The arson squad found that the fire was set. We had fairly strong suspicions about who did it, but not enough evidence to prove it.

Values of Roger Heyns

Cheit: So but back to your main point about the morale in the chancellor's office. I would say it was always good, for a lot of reasons. One is that people admired and even adored Roger Heyns. He was a wonderful leader and he always had his focus on education. He cared about education and he cared about what went on in the classroom. People really respected him.

And you know, we'd have fun from time to time. The chancellor's office would have our own social gatherings.

LaBerge: You almost have to have had a sense of humor to get through it all.

Cheit: Right, right.

LaBerge: Well, that came through in his inaugural speech that you gave me, that his focus was education, he kept saying this is our business.

Cheit: Right.

LaBerge: And I have a couple of notes on something about the values--he kept mentioning values, that that was something that needed to be discussed.

Cheit: Right. Oh, he cared about the values of the institution. He also cared about personal values a great deal. He was a religious man. I once had occasion to introduce him in a lecture series. I went through a few incidents. Once during one of the darkest times in terms of non-student mischief on the campus and regental pressure and so on, he had a call inviting him to become president of a very fine institution. Under other circumstances he might have been interested

in pursuing this position because it was in many ways a better job [laughs] than what he had. He told me that he couldn't leave in the middle of this, doing what we were doing was too important. People always had a sense of him as a man of integrity and that he walked the talk, as managers often say. And so that was a very big element in the high morale of the chancellor's office.

Personal Safety of the Cheits

Cheit: I don't know if I've mentioned this before, but there was a time when the campus police warned me to check under my car.

LaBerge: Well, you mentioned it off tape, you didn't mention it on the tape. So to look under your car?

Cheit: Yes, I can't remember a first time, but the police had very good intelligence. I think I earlier mentioned that at least one person who was at the center of the radical group that was leading the Vietnam Day Committee and some other major protests was an FBI [Federal Bureau of Investigation] informer. I never knew who he or she was. The campus police, if they knew, they didn't tell me, but I suspected they didn't know because they would get their information from the Berkeley police and the Berkeley police got it from the FBI. But they would know in advance when there were going to be incidents. There had been several bombings in the area including Callaghan Hall on campus. In fact, a full list of the bombings was compiled and published by the Burns Committee.

So, in that context, when the campus police told me to start checking, just to look under my car before turning the ignition, that sent a chill through me.

LaBerge: Sure!

Cheit: I would kneel down and look under and see if there was anything attached, and--

LaBerge: Did they show you what to look for?

Cheit: They just told me you will see something attached underneath it. I had changed oil in that car, so I knew what belonged and what did not. So nothing ever appeared or happened. I had death threats at home. People would call and threaten me.

LaBerge: Would both you get them and your wife would get them?

Cheit: Well, she'd sometimes pick up the phone and get them, yes. I can't remember exactly, but this happened maybe a half a dozen times. It would occur when there was some big incident, in the middle of some big incident. So along with high morale, there were some low points.

LaBerge: Right.

Cheit: [laughs] And there was a lot of stress. But there were also many times of enjoyment and laughter; admiration and feeling that we were doing the right thing. We felt very confident about what we were trying to do.

LaBerge: And I suppose if you weren't, you couldn't have stayed in the job. You would have left sooner.

Cheit: Yes.

LaBerge: Something else about Chancellor Heyns: oh, in the inauguration speech (I realize was earlier than all of this) but it was in 1966, he mentioned that Ambassador Goldberg was going to speak that night and we talked about that in the last interview.

Cheit: Right.

Undergraduate Education; Finances

LaBerge: But it sounded like he was emphasizing undergraduate education more than graduate. I guess you weren't involved so much in that because you were doing the outside stuff, I mean, you were doing the discipline and time, place and manner rules, but just to keep those going on that same track, I guess--

Cheit: Well, he cared a great deal about undergraduate education and we had in our office at different times, various people whose job it was to promote education reform. I mentioned Neil Smelser, he was there. Bill Bouwsma, at one point was there doing that. I think Joe Hodges from statistics.

LaBerge: Okay. The Select Committee Report that came out in 1966--the so-called Muscatine Report?

Cheit: Yes, right.

LaBerge: Do you remember how you responded to that?

Cheit: Well, I would say with guarded enthusiasm. We admired Chuck Muscatine, as we did Joe Tussman. We knew that some of the people on that committee were mischief-makers, and so while we welcomed it, it was a kind of guarded enthusiasm is how I would describe it.

LaBerge: Well, another thing that Chancellor Heyns said, and then I'll leave that, is, and this is a quote, "Preserving the greatness of universities is not an economic matter, it is a matter of values." I realized three years later you were really--you were researching the finances of the

universities, because at the same time the finances were going down. I wonder what your take on it at that time--what was the financial status of this university? Were we losing legislative support because of all of this?

Cheit: Yes, sure. And electing Ronald Reagan governor.

And yes, being punished to some extent by the legislature. But the financial condition of the campus was good. I went on sabbatical leave in 1969. I left the executive vice chancellor's job and I agreed to do some work for the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education that Clark Kerr had organized. And the first thing he asked me to look into was the financing of colleges and universities because there had been a change from the previous decade. And so I wrote this book called *The New Depression in Higher Education*¹ and the title tells you its theme.

I studied forty-one colleges and universities around the country and showed that for many, their financial circumstances were deteriorating. Not all of them. But at the time, to go back to your question, though, this campus was in a reasonably good situation.

LaBerge: Do you think that this whole period, though, led to the decline?

Cheit: To some extent, sure.

LaBerge: I mean, we could talk about that later when we get to that point.

Cheit: Let's do that.

Discipline

LaBerge: Okay. Before we come to the 1970s, I'd like to finish several issues we touched on earlier. One is student discipline. Did you feel it was better for the administration to be doing the student discipline, or should the faculty? And was there discussion about that?

Cheit: There was a lot of discussion of it and we felt that it was important to have faculty members constitute hearing committees and make findings and recommendations. But the ultimate responsibility had to be the responsibility of the administration. And that was one of the points of disagreement in the December 8 Resolution.

¹Earl F. Cheit, *The New Depression in Higher Education; A Study of Financial Conditions at 41 Colleges and Universities* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971)

The TA Strike ##

LaBerge: Okay, another issue is the TA strike. In Roger Heyns' oral history, he talked about the fact that you were the one who was doing the negotiating with the TAs. The issue was pay.

Cheit: Right. But I am not sure about the year.

LaBerge: I don't know if it was '68--I have a feeling it was '68, but I'm not positive on that. All I know about it is that you were negotiating with the Alameda County Labor Council.

Cheit: Right. The members of the Alameda County Labor Council were solicited by the people organizing the strike, and trying to get their support, so that the unions on the campus would in sympathy either strike, or slow down. At the time, the campus had a wonderful person in charge of labor relations, a man by the name of [Francis X.] Pete Small, an extremely able man, and a person of great integrity.

Pete and I went to Oakland to meet with the Alameda Labor Council. We made a presentation to the council, chaired by a man whose name was Bob Ashe. First, the labor council had had a presentation from the TAs. Then they invited the university to make a presentation. So Pete Small and I made our case against the council sanctioning a TA strike. We knew these people. After all, my background had been in the Institute of Industrial Relations. I knew many of the people on the labor council, including Ashe. Pete of course knew all of them, because he did negotiating with the unions on the campus. It was an interesting exchange. When it was over, the labor council eventually voted to give support to a strike, but none of their members went out. It was symbolic or rhetorical support only.

The labor council was very responsible throughout all of this. I liked and admired those people, and I had later had some conversations with Ashe--who I think was perplexed by why TAs would want to strike--because at the time, I think a lot of the people in the labor council looked at TAs as leading a rather privileged life.

The outcome of that was, there were two or three TA strikes in which there was picketing, and then the strikes fizzled. And it wasn't until this last year [2000], and I only know this now as a newspaper reader, that the university agreed to enter into a contract with the [United] Autoworkers' Union on behalf of the TAs.

LaBerge: What--thirty years later?

Cheit: Yes.

Eldridge Cleaver's Social Analysis 139X

LaBerge: How about--and I'm jumping around here--but it's just in that time period, did you have anything to do with the Eldridge Cleaver course?

Cheit: The short answer to that is no. But there is an incident in connection with that, Eldridge Cleaver. The course, Social Analysis 139X, I think it was--[laughter]--the course went through the procedure with Neil Smelser's group, the Committee For Educational Reform, or something like that. It went through the procedure, and was approved, and so we had to defend it.

We got a lot of heat, of course, from regents, and a lot of people were upset about this. But I wasn't directly involved. Neil Smelser was involved, and the chancellor, but there is a story about the chancellor and myself concerning Eldridge Cleaver. And that is that around the time, after the Filthy Speech Movement--and those resignations withdrawn--there was a great deal of sensitivity about the use of profanity as still another one of these provoking devices on the campus. Cleaver at some point came on the campus to make a speech. I think this was just shortly before the 139X. In fact, June told me that she was going to hear him speak. He was speaking in Sproul Plaza. And he used not only the four-letter word, but the twelve-letter word.

LaBerge: [chuckles]

Cheit: And he used these words, not once, but a dozen, or two dozen times, and had some of the audience chanting them. There was an enormous amount of irritation about this, because it was all televised, and bleeped out at the sensitive points. Shortly after there was a regents' meeting in Los Angeles that both Roger and I attended. At that time, [H.R.] Haldeman, then was in the Nixon White House, was on the regents. A board member, I can't remember who now, but I think it was Max Rafferty, made a motion that Eldridge Cleaver should be barred from coming onto the campus. The chancellor would be ordered to keep him off the campus. Roger spoke, and said, "Well, you know, clearly this is impossible, to keep somebody from entering the campus." But Rafferty persisted, and I can't remember the exact wording of the motion, but it was to the effect that if Cleaver came on the campus and used profanity, he had to be kicked off, and then he would be barred from coming on again. Anyway, it would have been impossible for us to enforce.

This regents' meeting was taking place on the UCLA campus. We were sitting in Royce Hall, that wonderful auditorium. The board started to debate it after Roger had spoken. He and I were sitting together, and he said to me, "If they pass this, we cannot continue." Right there we agreed that if the regents adopted the motion, that we would resign, at that point. We would not threaten to resign, because Roger made that point that you never threaten to resign. You either resign or you don't resign. But we understood that we could not carry out this order.

We were sitting there as they were debating, and debating, and then someone said, "All right, call for the question." At that point a secretary came in the room with a slip of paper. She came to the table and handed it to Haldeman. Apparently it was an urgent phone message. Haldeman got up and left the room. And while he was out of the room, the vote was taken, and it was a tie. [laughter] And so it failed, it was tie. Since Haldeman had spoken in favor of the motion, had that phone call not come in, the course of our lives would have been quite different.

Anyway, it failed, because it was tie. And then they went on to other business. So it is just one little connection--

LaBerge: It is. I mean, that is why I bring things up that maybe you didn't have anything to do with. Does anyone else know this? Did they know that you thought--?

Cheit: Well, we didn't publicize it. We may have privately told some people, but it was never a matter of public knowledge, no.

LaBerge: Any other incidents like that where it came down to that you would have had to resign?

Cheit: None that I can remember, because in fact, in all the cases that I know of, when we stuck to our guns, we prevailed. That was true with Catherine Hearst, wanting those materials. We gave the materials, but only to the chairman on behalf of the Board of Regents. [phone interruption] I cannot remember another incident like that. And for Roger, resigning was not a topic of discussion.

Firing of Clark Kerr

LaBerge: Well, then let's go on to when Clark Kerr was--

Cheit: Fired?

LaBerge: --"fired with enthusiasm."

Cheit: Yes. That is his famous phrase.

LaBerge: Were you at that regents' meeting?

Cheit: No. I was not. I can remember I was working at my desk and getting the phone call. And just as an aside, I didn't go to every regents' meeting. Sometimes I went in place of Roger, sometimes I went with him when there was a lot of heavy weather, but oftentimes I didn't. I was not at that meeting. And so what I know is all secondhand, and what I do know secondhand is that he asked for a vote of confidence, and didn't get it.

LaBerge: What was the reaction here on campus?

Cheit: Oh, it was very harsh, I mean, it was one of alarm--although some people saw Clark as a villain. The truth is he was the builder of this university. And he was very much admired even by people who were critical of him in connection with this or that issue. The truth is that he was a unique individual. I just had lunch today with the editor of the UC Press. Clark's memoirs are coming out shortly.

There was a big faculty meeting, very much supporting Kerr. You'll recall there was a faculty meeting when Kerr and Meyerson said they were going to resign, and in the meeting the faculty gave them a big vote of confidence. And then I think the other reason for alarm was in reaction to the idea that when you change governors, you change university presidents. This would be a politicizing of the university that faculty members saw as a destabilizing threat. And so, there was both Clark the person, and there were the political implications of his being fired by the new governor and his supporters on the board.

Here is a little aside about Clark being fired. It provides an example of Roger Heyns, the humane individual. Roger immediately had me look into the status of Clark's retirement benefits. I can't remember the details now but I remember that for Clark, that the retirement benefits were based on his professorship, and the long and short of it is that he was entitled to only part of what Roger felt he should be getting. And the retirement benefits came through the campus, I think, as a professor. And so Roger immediately met with the Budget Committee and got agreement to change his status so that his retirement benefits would be more generous.

This is something that I have never told anyone including Clark. Roger knew that Clark was not a wealthy man, and in fact, Clark was sort of an austere person, and never did things to aggrandize himself or his income. And Roger was worried about that and wanted the university to do the right thing.

LaBerge: I know. He even told me--because I did a small interview with him--he believed that the president's salary shouldn't be any higher than a faculty's salary, and he just wouldn't do it.

Cheit: Yes. Yes, he was admirable in those ways. At any rate, Roger Heyns' immediate instinct was to worry about whether his retirement benefits were appropriate. We worked to make them appropriate.

LaBerge: Yes. Wow. Any other anecdotes? [Silence] Sometimes if I am quiet, you remember things. [laughter]

Long Range Campus Plan and Beginning of People's Park Issue, 1967

Cheit: I didn't really do more than glance at my appointment books for 1967--and I realized that one of the things that happened in 1967, which didn't surface until 1969, was asking the regents to appropriate the money for the land that became People's Park.

LaBerge: People's Park is on my list, so let's talk about that.

Cheit: Well, in 1958 a long range plan for the Berkeley campus was approved by the regents. The plan was on my office wall. Just as I have a map here of the Pacific area, I used to have one larger than this of the long range plan. That long range plan showed, among other things, that area that is now People's Park as playing fields. The reason that they were identified as playing fields is that the Berkeley campus is notoriously short of athletic fields for its students. And we have actually fewer today than we did at that time.

And if I may digress here, the chancellor recently asked me to serve as a member of the search committee for the new athletic director. I am now on that committee. The first big meeting that we had was to hear from interested people about what is it that we should be looking for in a new athletic director. One of the things that was pointed out to us in our meeting, was that the campus is very short of playing fields. North Field is now taken over by that surge building that houses the [Pacific] Film Archive. Also, there used to be a field where Zellerbach Hall now stands.

Our search committee was told that one of the jobs of the new athletic director is to try to find some way to get more playing fields, because it is highly desirable that students have some green space for recreational sports. Well, back in 1958, almost a half century ago, the campus then said, "We don't have enough space for that." And they identified that area for the university to buy. The regents approved the long range plan and said that they were going to buy it, and if necessary that they are going to use eminent domain to acquire that land.

They did buy a few lots, but then the money wasn't appropriated. And property owners in that area, knowing that their property was going to be purchased, let their places run down. I have heard people romanticize how, "Oh, buildings were knocked down, they were these wonderful buildings." In fact, the place was deteriorating. Both the city and a neighborhood association came to the chancellor's office to complain about the deterioration of the property in that area. Their case was clear; the university said, "We're going to buy it," and then didn't. So we looked into it, and we found, yes, indeed, that the area was deteriorating. We decided that either the university should buy it, or declare that we're not going to buy it. We went through an internal process that concluded that the space was needed urgently. So we decided to ask for the money.

In about '67, it could have been late '66, we submitted a proposal to the regents to buy the land and the houses. After a discussion, the regents agreed a decision was needed. They voted the money. After they did, I think it was another year or so before anything happened.

But the university acquired the buildings and people moved out. The buildings were demolished. These are the innocent origins of the People's Park struggle, and the great symbolism that it has today.

LaBerge: I had the idea, because of all that has been written, that it was originally to be for dormitories--

Cheit: No.

LaBerge: --but I guess that was just in the later years.

Cheit: That was a later idea, but not the original. If you look at the long range plan in effect when the Heyns administration came into office, it is for playing fields. The sums involved were not large. I can't remember now what it was--maybe \$1 million and a half or something like that, to buy all that property. Well, let me stop and see if you have other questions.

LaBerge: Well, the neighborhood association, and was it the merchants, too?

Cheit: Well, it may have been.

LaBerge: Telegraph Avenue Concerns Committee, or that might have been something different?

Cheit: Well, it may have been. There were presentations made to the chancellor on behalf of the neighborhood, and Telegraph Avenue, and the city.

LaBerge: And so they were supporting the university owning--

Cheit: They were saying that indecision was leading to the deterioration of that area, and that we were creating a slum situation, and we ought to either say we're not going to do it, or carry it out. But having said we are going to, and then not carrying it out, was intolerable. And we agreed.

LaBerge: And no one was protesting that the university was getting that land or anything like that, it was just--?

Cheit: No, not at all. We'll save the People's Park for a later discussion, but I should note here that--I've seen an account that says, "The university has always wanted to destroy the turf of the political culture." And this was seen as a way to do that. That interpretation is pure make-believe. The origins I've given you are all the origins.

LaBerge: So this is good. So you're writing the history as it is. [chuckles]

Cheit: Well, I am at least adding my part to the record.

LaBerge: Yes. Well, what was the other thing that you--?

Cheit: There was something else in 1967 or 1966 that I wanted to mention.

Lewis Feuer's Article and Responses ##

LaBerge: Okay, you had two other things you wanted to mention.

Cheit: One is that in 1966, Lewis Feuer, a philosophy professor here, wrote an article called "The Decline of Freedom at Berkeley," for the *Atlantic Monthly*. It was an important article. It was a bit hyperbolic. In fact, the opening sentence is: "Berkeley has become a symbol for the world."

He resigned from Berkeley, did Feuer, and this article was an indictment of the faculty, the administration and the December 8 Resolution, which he had opposed and tried to amend. It was a very strong article. He essentially argues that Berkeley has become a political university and that the university has become what he called a bastion for non-student guerrilla warfare against society and that we've acquiesced in this.

The article provoked some strong responses. I have a copy of Herb McCloskey's answer, and of John Searle's answer. This was in late 1966. It was a very important article and exchange because it forced people to come to grips with the university's ability to carry out its essential academic role and not to become captive of a political group or groups.

Without going into its merits, I think the Feuer piece, though hyperbolic, had some fairly penetrating points. The McCloskey and Searle responses were also important; the university is the place where this kind of exchange ought to occur. In all, the article and the responses were an important episode for this campus.

LaBerge: Yes. Were the responses reprinted in the *Atlantic Monthly*?

Cheit: I think as letters or as follow-up articles, yes.

Centennial Celebration, 1968

Cheit: And then the other thing I wanted to mention is that in late '66, early '67, we started getting ready for 1968, the university's centennial. There were all sorts of plans. A man with a great sense of style, Garff Wilson, who ran public ceremonies for the campus, took the lead. There were many meetings and many initiatives. In 1967 we dedicated the Centennial Trail. We published a map of a trail around the campus, showing relevant high points. The centennial year was in 1968, but we set in motion a large number of things. It was really a very successful centennial celebration.

Berkeley Fellows

Cheit: We created the Berkeley Fellows.

LaBerge: In conjunction with that?

Cheit: Yes.

LaBerge: Was that your idea?

Cheit: No. Garff Wilson and Roger Heyns came up with the idea. I can't claim credit for that. I'm now pleased to be a member.

LaBerge: Just for the record, why don't you say what the Berkeley Fellows is?

Cheit: Well, it began as an honorific society of fellows, and the criterion for membership was people of distinction with a link to Cal. In the case of faculty or administrators, members had to be emeritus. It was to be a mixture of university and non-university members. All had to have an important connection with the university. It wasn't designed to reward fundraising or gift giving.

The group would start with one hundred members on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the university. The idea was that one member would be added every year, although we've now put a ceiling on the number. I'm currently on the advisory committee that makes nominations to the chancellor. The decisions are his.

Once a year the fellows gather for a black tie reception and dinner. The two highlights of the dinner are the induction of new fellows, and the chancellor's brief report on the state of the campus. By tradition there's a toast to the university, and the evening is over. It's a splendid idea. The list of Berkeley Fellows is really quite an impressive group, as I'm sure you know.

Honorary Degrees Abolished; Berkeley Citation Instituted

Cheit: That was when the idea for Berkeley Citation was formed, during that time. I don't know whether I've told you about honorary degrees?

LaBerge: No.

Cheit: Well, the University of California used to award honorary degrees at commencement and at Charter Day. I'm not sure of the year, now, but in the campaign for the Republican nomination for president [that year], [Governor] Ronald Reagan was a possible candidate. And the mayor of New York, Lindsay, was a possible candidate.

LaBerge: John?

Cheit: Yes. John Lindsay. He was an attractive moderate Republican mayor of New York. Lindsay was invited to come and make the Charter Day address. Charter Day speakers traditionally were awarded an honorary degree. Reagan and his people on the Board of Regents believed that Lindsay was going to be brought here and honored as a way of embarrassing Reagan and giving Lindsay's candidacy prominence here in the West.

Honorary degrees had to be approved by the regents. In the regents' meetings at that time there were three levels of openness. First, the regents meet in open, public session; then they could meet in executive session, which meant regents, chancellors, and vice chancellors and vice presidents were present. Then they had a closed meeting that was regents only--a super-executive session. That was the situation when they discussed honorary degrees. And in a super-executive session, the Reagan appointees to the Board of Regents blocked the proposed Lindsay honorary degree. By the way, Lindsay just died a couple of weeks ago.

This group blocked the Lindsay honorary degree. Then Regent Heller, Ellie Heller, an excellent person, said, "Okay, if we're going to block the Lindsay honorary degree, then we're going to give no honorary degrees. I move there be a moratorium on honorary degrees," and her motion passed immediately. Since then--

LaBerge: Throughout the university?

Cheit: Yes. Since that time, the University of California has awarded no honorary degrees.

LaBerge: Well, I'll be darned. Even though this was in regents-only session, when did it come out for public knowledge?

Cheit: Oh, it came out immediately. After it was over, they talked. Ellie Heller and I were very good friends and she gave me a detailed account of what happened.

LaBerge: [laughs] Yes.

Cheit: Now, therefore, Berkeley needed something. I don't know what the other campuses do, but Garff Wilson came up with the idea of a citation. It was called the Centennial Citation because we were celebrating our centennial. The original idea was that the Centennial Citation would be given to a hundred people during the centennial year. It wasn't just people. The Faculty Club got a Centennial Citation and the Cal Band got one. I have the list at home

on my wall. I was awarded a Centennial Citation. I have the list of the hundred at home framed.

So that that was the birth of the citation. It was the Centennial Citation. And then after the centennial year, it became the Berkeley Citation. For twenty years, I was chairman of the panel that nominated people for the Berkeley Citation. I rotated off of the panel five years ago. It's instead of our honorary degrees.

LaBerge: Yes. I'd never heard that story. How are you doing timewise?

Cheit: I've just got a few more minutes.

LaBerge: Did you have anything to do with *The Centennial Record*,¹ that wonderful book that was published? And I'm trying to think of--I should know who did it.

Cheit: Verne Stadtman?

LaBerge: Yes, yes. I mean, it's a wonderful--

Cheit: No, you know, I think we distributed copies, but we didn't work on it.

LaBerge: Because it took an amazing amount of work.

Cheit: I think Verne Stadtman did that.

More on Lewis Feuer

LaBerge: We're referring to it all the time. Well, could I go back to Lewis Feuer? Did he resign because of what happened on campus, or was he retirement age, or what?

Cheit: That was a matter of some dispute. He says in the article and he said at the time, that he didn't want to stay here anymore. In fact, it tells he went to the University of Toronto as a professor of sociology. It's an important piece for the reasons I mentioned. He sees the December 8 Resolution as the basis for all the bad things that happened here.

One of our colleagues, Reg Zelnick, is bringing out a book on *The Free Speech Movement* by the UC Press. It sees the December 8 Resolution and the Free Speech Movement as righting an historical wrong. I think John Searle feels that way. But Feuer sees it as laying the foundation for a lot of really very unhappy things that happened later.

¹Verne A. Stadtman, ed., *The Centennial Record of the University of California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Printing Department, 1967)

LaBerge: Do you think anyone else resigned as a result of this, or anyone didn't come here?

Cheit: Well, people left here. I don't think people resigned the way Lewis Feuer did, but people left. They received good offers that may not have moved them before. Various people left over time. It wasn't a sudden thing.

LaBerge: Yes, yes.

Cheit: But I thought the people who left here were serious losses to the campus. There was always a mixture of reasons. Walter Galenson left to go to Cornell. Marty Lipset left. The great sociologist Nat Glaser left. Henry Rosovsky went to Harvard. I think that what happened here was an element in their decision but it wasn't the total story.

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: And people came here, you know, because they hadn't liked what happened elsewhere. Alan Sindler came here because of what happened at Cornell. So in general, there wasn't a big exodus.

LaBerge: We'll finish Roger Heyns' chancellorship the next time?

Cheit: Well, yes, we can talk about it, but I left before he did.

LaBerge: Oh, that's right. Well, we'll finish your time as executive vice chancellor.

Takeover of Moses Hall, 1968

[Interview 13: March 8, 2001] ##

LaBerge: Well, last time we were finishing up your years as executive vice chancellor and we did talk about the Eldridge Cleaver course, but you were going to tell me some aftermath to that.

Cheit: Well, several incidents followed. The one I remember most clearly was the furor about whether the course could get credit or not, regular credit, and whether the course had violated university procedures. The regents became involved and adopted a resolution essentially saying that the campus had to live up to the established policies. It was an admonition to the campus.

There was a peaceful sit-in in Sproul Hall, to protest the not granting credit for the course. Some students were cited and disciplined, and then in October, I know exactly because I have the piece of paper in front of me, October 23, 1968, people started passing out leaflets on the campus about a rally that day. They went to Dwinelle Hall, and they marched through

Dwinelle Hall, and they marched around the campus in various places. About two o'clock about 200 students gathered outside of Moses Hall and they decided to seize Moses Hall. Later we learned that there was a debate. As there always are in these circumstances, there were people who didn't want to seize the building, didn't want any destruction. But of course, the center doesn't hold, as we know. And so they went into Moses Hall. About a hundred of them did. There was a debate on tactics. And then they started barricading the doors with furniture.

LaBerge: And why Moses?

Cheit: I'm not sure that I know the answer to that. Because they marched to Callaghan Hall where the ROTC was, they went to the computer center, and they went over to Campbell Hall, and then they went to Moses Hall. Whether Moses was just a target of opportunity or had been thought about before, I don't know. I think that's where they were and they wanted to take some direct action. Well, they went in. They barricaded the doors, and this was about four o'clock.

The police arrived maybe a half hour later or so and started arresting people. But the occupation lasted well into the night because the campus didn't have enough police to remove them. The chancellor and Bob Cole and John Searle and I were worrying about being able to be there when things were happening and being there at the end. At about eight o'clock at night they sent me and Bob Cole home. We were going to come in early in the morning and the chancellor and John Searle stayed on the scene.

LaBerge: When you say "on the scene," do you mean at Moses or in the chancellor's office?

Cheit: In the chancellor's office, but in touch with what was going on. I got in the next morning about seven o'clock. In fact, I got in earlier than that because the last people who were arrested were being loaded up by the "blue meanies," as they were called--the deputies of Alameda County. We went in and got the first look at the inside of Moses Hall, and it was just stunning to see what had been done.

Only then did we learn--did I learn--that Walter Knight, a physicist, who was dean of the College of Letters and Science, was in that building, that he and several colleagues from the dean's office had barricaded themselves and locked themselves in the dean's office, thereby saving all the personnel records of the College of Letters and Science. And you know, after this, we felt if there was a hero in that terrible situation, it was Dean Knight, who died just recently, and his colleagues. They were in the building fifteen hours. In that room!

LaBerge: In that room.

Cheit: In that room for fifteen hours. And to protect the records of the college. I showed you a picture that I have of secretaries trying to put together records of other parts of the building where the desks had been ransacked. There was a visiting professor of philosophy here from Oxford. I think his name was Greis, a very distinguished philosopher. His office was

ransacked--manuscripts thrown around, files thrown around. It was just horrible. But to my knowledge, that was the only incident like that that I can remember.

LaBerge: And had you gotten word of it ahead of time?

Cheit: No, not this time. As I told you, we often knew things that were going to happen. That's why I think this was a target of opportunity. Anyway, the things were put back together. Three policemen were injured, hit by rocks, but no student or no occupant of the building was injured that we ever had a report about. It was an incident that made a very deep impression on the campus, because people walked by and in that building and saw what it looked like.

This wasn't like the peaceful occupation of Sproul I mentioned. There was litter but no damage to the building. In fact, there was once an incident in a Sproul occupation in which it was alleged that the demonstrators had gotten into the office of the president emeritus, Robert Gordon Sproul, who had an office in that building. His secretary, Miss [Agnes] Robb, I think her name was, her desk was just--and her office--were in chaos. She later told the press, that no, no, her office always looked like that, that nothing had been touched. [laughter] And so that story reminded us not to jump to conclusions. But in the case of Moses Hall, it was a trashing of parts of that building.

Regents' Reaction

LaBerge: Well, can we talk about the cause of it, and the issue of the regents?

Cheit: Yes. As we know the demands from the leaflets that were handed out are at least part of what's going on, but not necessarily what's fundamentally going on. Their demand was, "credit for Social Analysis 139X and amnesty for students and supporters who had been arrested from earlier demonstrations about 139X, and rescinding the regents' resolution of September 20." I don't have here the regents' resolution of September 20, but it was a resolution on the course and I think it's the one that I characterized earlier. That's what the official demands were.

LaBerge: Well, how about your reflections on the regents, what the regents' role is, and how they've acted and what your interface with the regents was?

Cheit: Well, throughout the years that I was in the office we felt pressure from both sides. We felt it from the protesters and from the regents. Although in the case of the regents, it waned and waxed. There were times when the regents got reports from faculty who were upset with us, thought we were too liberal. And these things were frequently brought up in regents' meetings. They put pressure on Clark and then after they fired Clark, then [Harry] Wellman and then [Charles] Hitch. But more perhaps on Clark, because he was earlier in this series of episodes.

We also felt understanding from the regents. The regents were not a homogenous group. There were sympathetic and understanding regents, who knew that this was a big problem and who hoped they could help. People like Billy Coblentz and Ellie Heller, and even the regents who were conservative, there were some very thoughtful regents. Regent Roth was appalled at what was going on, but who didn't want to try to interfere in the administration of the campus to micromanage the campus. At one time, the regents had Max Rafferty, who was a demagogue. The Reagan appointees saw the political advantage of campus turmoil. After all, these disruptions of the university helped elect Ronald Reagan president of the United States.

LaBerge: Right.

Cheit: I mean, they catapulted his career.

Council of Vice Chancellors

LaBerge: And how often were you at the regents' meetings, either defending or answering questions?

Cheit: Well, at that time the regents met, I think, nine times a year. They've cut that back now somewhat. Roger of course went all the time, and I went, oh, maybe half the time. Once in a while he had to miss a regents' meeting and I'd substitute for him, or I'd go along, because the president started the practice of the vice chancellors having a council. The Council of Vice Chancellors is now quite well established. It meets the day before or the evening before the regents' meeting. The vice chancellors would gather, and so when that practice started, I went to all of those.

LaBerge: And what kinds of things would you discuss with your fellow vice chancellors?

Cheit: Well, policy issues, salary scales, academic administration.

LaBerge: Okay. Was it the kind of thing where you felt support, so that when you needed someone to talk to--

Cheit: Well, let me answer the question I think you're asking--how did the other campuses look at us? Is that--

LaBerge: Yes and, too, just personally, if there wasn't somebody on campus you could talk to just to say, "You know what I'm going through? Do you have anything like this?" I don't think you did have a problem with your own chancellor, but if you did, and you wanted to say "How did you deal with that?" I didn't know if it was a support-type group?

Cheit: Well, I think it was, to some extent. And some people would want to debrief, to find out what the heck is going on here. And some of them worried about the spillover effects on their

campus. But by and large it was a very supportive group. The agenda was largely academic administration. Inevitably you got into these things, but that wasn't the focal point.

LaBerge: What about other institutions, like Stanford, and I think, I guess, particularly San Francisco State, when [S.I.] Hayakawa was there? Did you have any relationships with them?

Cheit: Well, we really didn't. Hayakawa visited here on a ceremonial occasion, I can't remember now what it was, but the short answer is no. With Stanford, we had more conversation at the time when Dick Lyman was president; I think he was president at the time.

LaBerge: So was Dr. Pitzer.

Cheit: Yes, Kenneth Pitzer, too. We used to be in touch. Well, Dick Lyman was, I think, the provost or the executive vice president. We had contact with them, but not a lot. They went through some incidents, but nothing of the magnitude we did.

More on the Regents and Governor Reagan

LaBerge: Right. Well, just your reflections on the way the university is governed. For instance, did the regents get too involved? Should they have been more involved? Did the president get too involved? I mean, how did you feel being here on the Berkeley campus with these other--with the outside--?

Cheit: Well, the firing of Clark Kerr really was a profound event, but it had a complication. Clark asked for a vote of confidence, you know. And people don't do that. [laughs] Because it's very risky. It's easier to not give a vote of confidence than it is to fire someone. Anyway, when they fired Clark, the symbolic message was that the university president is changed when the governor is changed, when there's a new governor. That's just intolerable, and it hasn't happened since.

Early on in the Reagan administration, the governor did some things that were really quite egregious. He appointed committees to find ways in which they could reduce costs in the university. One committee proposed that books that hadn't been checked out of the library in a few years be sold. His committees revealed a colossal lack of understanding. There were individual regents--I told you about Catherine Hearst. She had a little claque for which she was a persistent leader. Your question was, how did I feel about their governance?

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: I felt that there were times when the regents were a real problem, but now that I look at the four years and all the incidents, they were not so bad. [laughs]

LaBerge: In retrospect.

Cheit: In retrospect, yes. Because they continued to run the university, and supported us on many initiatives. Look at the things we got done over that time—I mentioned earlier we created the new School of Journalism, we created the new School of Public Policy, the Lawrence Hall of Science—did a lot of building. I found a statement by the chancellor saying that temporaries would be torn down at the end of that faculty lawn area, and a fine new building, Evans Hall was going to be constructed, honoring the great professor Evans who was chairman of the math department in the 1930s. I say that because Evans isn't regarded as a very graceful building, [laughter] although a very-well regarded architect designed it.

LaBerge: Who was the architect?

Cheit: Oh, he's from San Francisco. It's Gardner Dailey, a well-known architect. Anyway, it took regental support to get many of those things done. I suspect that some of the regents couldn't believe what was going on! They used to say it was the equivalent of knighthood to be appointed a regent. And then to suddenly find yourself in the midst of this sort of thing was, I think, shocking to many of them. I gave a talk about regents to the Los Angeles equivalent of the Commonwealth Club, Town Hall. Its title was "Regent-watching."¹

LaBerge: And do you have a copy somewhere?

Cheit: I think I might. Remind me and I'll try to find it. I think I was out of office then.

LaBerge: Otherwise you wouldn't have given it probably. [laughter]

Cheit: Probably not, no.

The Third World Strike and the "Cheit Policy" on Employment

LaBerge: Well, what about another constituency and that was the faculty?

Cheit: Well, the faculty was also not homogenous. [laughter] There were some faculty members and we've talked about Lewis Feuer and there were others, who just felt that we, the Heyns administration, didn't understand the principles that we were compromising. They thought we were too liberal. It was a small but very articulate and vocal group. Hardin Jones was a leader of that group.

And that group was outnumbered by the organized faculty on the left. They called themselves the Committee of 200. And that had a range of people within it. As for the great mass of faculty, they were going about their teaching and research.

¹See Appendix

And so you ask, did we get faculty support? I would say yes, but not sometimes when we really needed the senate mechanism. The most important I'd say was the issue that erupted into the Third World Strike.

LaBerge: Well, let's talk about that, because we haven't covered that.

Cheit: Okay.

LaBerge: And this was after the Eldridge Cleaver course?

Cheit: Yes, oh, yes. To understand that episode, we've got to go back to the effort that the chancellor was trying to make to bring underrepresented minorities onto the campus. I mentioned earlier to you the appointment of Bill Somerville to do the EOP. And by the way, I ran into Bill Somerville a couple of weeks ago. He is president of Philanthropic Ventures Foundation in Oakland, and I told him that I was doing this oral history and I told him what I said in the oral history about him, and his memory is the same as mine.

LaBerge: Oh, good. [laughs]

Cheit: The chancellor was very concerned and asked that I create and chair, when he could not come, a committee of people from the campus and the community--black people primarily, although there were some Mexican-American leaders, to talk about access to the university by underrepresented groups. Carleton Goodlet, who was a publisher and a physician, recently deceased, a very respected man in the San Francisco area, was on that committee. An alumnus of Berkeley who was head of the Mexican American--I don't think it was MALDEF [Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund], it's a fund in San Francisco. And Soto was his last name--Manny Soto, a very smart and experienced man. And then some faculty members, other people from the community who cared about this issue. We used to meet in the Faculty Club for dinner. For this group we developed an accurate census of how many minority students were on campus.

We developed and I issued a policy about employment, of non-academic employment, something which in the archives of the personnel office is known as the "Cheit Policy." A term at the time, not of endearment necessarily, but it was an effort to break the old vest pocket labor market. When there was an opening, you just pull your friend's name out of your vest pocket.

The policy required that jobs be posted, advertised, in various areas. Somewhere I have some data of the first five months of that policy and the extent to which it made a difference in the workforce of the university. So that we had a lot going on. Don Hopkins, my assistant, also participated.

Chancellor Heyns Responds to a Complex Issue ##

LaBerge: Okay, Don Hopkins was your assistant?

Cheit: Yes, and he participated. Anyway, it very soon became clear that we were being overtaken by events because the thinking inside that group--it was a civil and aggressive, but thoughtful group--was that black students should have a college of their own.

LaBerge: Within the university?

Cheit: Within the university. We explained what the process is. Our job wasn't to say no. Our job was to say in that group, "Here's what we're doing, and here's what our objectives are, and we're here to inform you and to seek your help and your advice."

But there was organized on the campus a group to support the Third World College, that I think only had a tangential relationship with the group that we were meeting with. Quite suddenly they appeared with leaflets saying what they wanted--a set of demands. And the demands ranged from the sensible to the celestial. The sensible was that there ought to be more black students and administrators, and it also demanded that one third of the regents be from Third World backgrounds. They demanded that the Master Plan for Higher Education adopted by the legislature be changed, and so on. It was a very amorphous group. It didn't really have very clear leadership. We knew some of the people who led on specific occasions. They began agitating on the campus.

Our group eventually stopped meeting because we couldn't keep up with them anymore. We were just fully engaged here, and events had surpassed what we were doing. Then suddenly the campus group announced a strike.

Now you asked me earlier about help from the faculty. From the beginning the chancellor said that he would support academic work dealing with African Americans, and he was already calling them African Americans before that became the term in use by African Americans. But he carefully explained that the chancellor doesn't create courses. Under the bylaws of the university the regents delegate the authority for the curriculum to the faculty, and the faculty has the final say about the curriculum. The faculty establishes degree requirements, it's the faculty who approve courses. Chancellors, administrators don't have that power. And, by the way, the regents don't have that power unless they withdraw the delegation, which would be a constitutional crisis for the university. So the chancellor said, "You know, you're beating me on the head, but I'm the wrong person. But I will try to get you together with the history department, with the College of Letters and Science, with the Academic Senate." Here, there were many people on the Academic Senate, including some very distinguished historians, who really had divided feelings. They knew that any serious academic work would have to go through the senate, but they didn't want to take on this fight. So with respect to this approach of going to a senate group and the senate then disposing of it in a proper way, it never happened. We were badly disappointed.

LaBerge: Do you want to go into more detail about meetings or people?

Cheit: Well, no. I don't think so. But we were let down, badly. Our history department had two very distinguished people who taught and were expert in the period of American history that they were most concerned about.

LaBerge: Right.

Cheit: But that isn't what they really wanted. Ultimately, it became clear this was about control to some extent, controlling entry and controlling standards and controlling who would be hired. So the strike began. It wasn't really a strike, it was a lot of hit and run activity that went on in the campus.

The chancellor made a speech [looking at papers]--I have a copy of it here--on March 4, 1969, to the Academic Senate in which he said, "Someone new to this campus who tried to understand our current problems by reading and listening to everything available might well ask of us if the chancellor is in favor of ethnic studies, if the students want ethnic studies, and the faculty seems favorably disposed to ethnic studies, why is there a dispute about it?" And he says, "I'm sure the same thought has occurred to persons who are not new to the campus. It's been suggested this is probably just a problem in communications." And he says, "I wish that were the case, but it is not."

I won't read much more, but what he says is that, "I have tried repeatedly to get the matter converted from a slogan to a concrete proposal that could be evaluated, and I've never gotten the kind of proposal that I could give to the senate to get their review." And senators here, by the way, might then say in response to my criticism of a couple of minutes ago, "Well, you never gave us a concrete proposal."

But he said, "I will not adopt a black studies or ethnic studies unit or any unit that doesn't follow these principles: one, any unit must not be segregated as to faculty or students, and that whatever unit is created to serve the needs of minorities, whether it's a department or several of them, they should have no more autonomy or no less than any other unit. And that means it has to have the same relationship to the standing committees of the senate--budget, courses, academic planning and so on." And then he goes through saying that absolutely he's not going to skirt regular admissions, he's not going to skirt the senate and he said, "Now, you'd think that the faculty would cheer that," and many did.

But they didn't want to be too visibly cheering because many of them were sympathetic with the demands or at least the demand for more access. So there was really a stalemate. There was a lot of damage on the campus. There were stones thrown in the buildings. There was--

Wheeler Hall Fire

LaBerge: Is this when the rock came through?

Cheit: The rock that came through the chancellor's window, I'm almost certain, in connection with this. There was a lot of disruption of classes. And in the midst of this there was the Wheeler Hall fire.

LaBerge: Which you did describe.

Cheit: I did describe. Investigation confirmed that it was definitely arson. There was suspicion that it might have been started by people connected with this Third World Strike. The best information we could get from various sources didn't point to them. We held a different hypothesis, so we never linked those in any way, in any statement that we made.

LaBerge: Do you want to say what your hypothesis was?

Cheit: Yes. I will say what our hypothesis was. There was a group of students--and non-students affiliated with them--raising a lot of money by showing movies and funding certain causes by showing the movies in Wheeler. We tightened the rules to say Wheeler can be used by student organizations, but not student organizations that are fronts for non-student organizations. I can't remember the details. It cut the revenue for some pretty far-out groups. And we had reason to suspect, but did not have the facts to confirm, that it was retaliation for this, and not the Third World Strike. But we don't know.

The whole episode went on for several months. And then the TAs wanted to join in the strike. Their leaders saw that this might be a chance to organize. Course work was created in African American studies, but it's a regular campus department. And then eventually--this was after I left the chancellor's office--the present structure of ethnic studies and then different subdepartments were created. But as you know from the newspapers six months ago, Chancellor Berdahl is still fighting that about that same set of issues.

At the time, we all believed that despite the pain of the strike and the damage and the disruption, that the principle that we were standing up for was so clear and so correct, that it was pain that we had to endure. And at the end, we felt that the principles that are most important in the university had prevailed. We didn't win a lot of "victories," but certainly this was a case where we prevented--or wouldn't acquiesce in something that would have eroded the strength of the senate and the faculty. And eventually the strike petered out. At the end, though, the more it petered out, the more violent it became.

LaBerge: Now was women's studies connected with that?

Cheit: No.

People's Park, 1969

Cheit: We started talking about the People's Park last time a little bit. Do you want me to say something about that?

LaBerge: Yes, because that's when Governor Reagan sent in the National Guard? Were you still here then?

Cheit: Oh, yes.

LaBerge: Okay. Because I wasn't sure what time of year--when in 1969 you left.

Cheit: When did I leave?

LaBerge: Yes.

Long Range Campus Plan

Cheit: September 1, 1969. And you will recall I came here in 1957 and my first sabbatical was 1963. Nineteen sixty-nine was my second sabbatical and I was determined to use my sabbaticals, and so the chancellor knew that I would only stay until my sabbatical. I was supposed to leave on June 30, 1969, but he asked me to stay on until September 1, to be on duty during staff vacations, and so I did. So I was here, and very much involved in the whole People's Park situation.

I mentioned last time, when we talked about this, I think it was 1958, that the regents had originally approved a long range plan, and that it provided that the land would be used for university playing fields. In my office in Dwinelle Hall, I had on the wall a huge board of the university's plan and there it was, playing fields, it said. I think I told you that the regents said they were going to buy this land and they didn't. The property started going downhill. If you read some of the critics--and we had many--about this, they said the university went in and tore down perfectly good houses. I have here an analysis that was made of the buildings.

LaBerge: This is in your own hand, I point out for the tape.

Cheit: Yes, this was from an investigation that was made of the buildings. There were five single family houses, fifteen rooming houses, five apartment buildings that were somewhat larger, seven, eight, ten apartments. The key point is that of these twenty-five buildings, seven were sound. Fourteen were substandard, and perhaps with extensive work could be rehabilitated. Four were beyond economic rehabilitation and one building was moved to

another site. That would be the twenty-sixth building. This was an analysis that we had done of the status of the buildings because we were getting a lot of criticism from the city that we were becoming slumlords. Eighteen of the twenty-five buildings were in bad shape, and deteriorating.

So the money was allocated to the campus to acquire those buildings. We acquired some of them and then acquired more later. The decision to take down those buildings and to proceed came through the BCDC--Building and Campus Development Committee--which had the president of the student body on it. The recommendation was made that the buildings be torn down. We did tear the buildings down. However, having torn down the buildings, we didn't move promptly to create the playing fields. The reason was simple. We did not have the money. Of course, we later learned that not doing it cost a lot more than doing it.

LaBerge: Right.

Cheit: This is a story that's well known, although people have different perspectives on it. People started using it as a parking lot, and people started to hang out, to loiter there. We started to get complaints from the city because it was becoming a place where there was drug trafficking. In these notes I have a list of the arrests that were made there for drugs. Once again the city said, "First you created a slumlord situation, and now you're creating a problem piece of turf," so we made a concerted effort to get the money to go ahead and create the playing fields.

As I recall, we got an appropriation from the regents. We did get the funds to go ahead, because we were persuaded. It was the businessmen from the Telegraph Avenue Business Association, and the city.

And the city, by the way, at that time had two officials who in my judgment were as good as any city official you could find in any city in the United States. [There was a] city manager by the name of Bill Hanley who later left here to go to the southwest somewhere as a city manager. Absolutely outstanding. And Bill Beall, William Beall, chief of police, who when he retired from the Berkeley Police force, I managed to hire as the campus chief of police.

LaBerge: Oh, okay.

Cheit: What smart, humane, insightful people. Berkeley was so lucky to have that quality of people in those jobs. Anyway, we started: we put up No Trespassing signs and they were immediately torn down. It became increasingly clear that we were going to have to do something. But the chancellor wanted to take that last additional step to resolution. He appointed a group of students and faculty to create a plan. He also tried to get some people from the group that was developing the "park," but of course there was no leadership structure. There were some mischief makers, but he couldn't get a group that would meet consistently. But the campus group met and made a proposal for kind of a multi-use. Why not let it be a park? Bill Hanley pointed out that Berkeley was just opening up Willard Park which was two blocks away--a larger, wonderful park. But it eventually became clear to us, and maybe we

were not smart enough to see this sooner, that what this was about was not what happens on the land, but who controls the land. That was really the issue.

Fence, Riot and the National Guard

Cheit: It became clear that if we didn't assert authority, things would get worse. So we let people know that there would be a fence put up and a fence was put up. As the fence was being put up, there was this now famous rally on the Sproul steps in which the last speaker was Dan Siegel, currently a school board member in Oakland, an attorney. What he said is in dispute because he was eventually accused of incitement to riot. I wasn't there. I was at a regents' meeting in Los Angeles. Whether he said, "Let's take the fence," or something like that, is a matter of dispute. Anyway, the crowd went and the riot developed.

There were police there protecting the workmen who were putting the fence up, but they were overrun. They couldn't handle it. They called for reinforcements and there began a period of guerrilla warfare. The fence was torn down, or parts of it were. The police eventually used birdshot. And then the National Guard was called in. Once the police send out a mutual assistance call, they do so because they are under siege. At this point they're running the show. When Reagan sent in the guard, that was his decision. We did not call for the National Guard; he did.

LaBerge: Right. So you, once the riot started, and once the police called for assistance, you were out of it.

Cheit: The fact that they were there, they were in the tactical mess. It was horrendous. There were a number of injuries and one person was killed. He was on a rooftop, and according to the police and to other bystanders, rocks were being thrown from the top of buildings. The police said they were firing in self-defense. A later court proceeding upheld that view.

Seizing the park played into Reagan's hands. You'll recall his campaign for governor blasted this type of behavior. His key message was that radicals in an "anything goes" atmosphere had brought discredit to a great university. He would fix it. This was his opportunity. He took charge with the National Guard and a helicopter.

In one area he probably felt vulnerable--that's the tragic death of one of the protestors. On the governor's report on the episode in 1969 he is critical of the Heyns administration and takes the offensive on the death of James Rector. Here is what Reagan's report says: "News media outlets erroneously identified him as a student, but here is the following factual information: He was not a student at the University of California and never enrolled at that institution. At the time of his death he was on probation following a conviction of charges of burglary, and marijuana possession. The day after he was wounded, police found his automobile parked in downtown Berkeley. Inside the vehicle they found a Remington 22-caliber semiautomatic rifle

in a disassembled state, a telephone induction [cable], a piece of electronic equipment used for tape-recording telephone calls or wiretapping. Police recovered one round of ammunition in Rector's pocket at the time he was hospitalized." So they proceeded to trash him here. And then they give his police record--how many times he'd been arrested and so on.

Chancellor Heyns Addresses Academic Senate in Emergency Meeting, May 1969

Cheit: And that gives you a feeling for the slant of the report. For anyone really interested in the history of this conflict, a thorough record was created by a senate meeting, an emergency senate meeting in which the faculty demanded that the chancellor address the situation and that he answer a list of fourteen questions submitted by a group of faculty who were most critical. The chancellor made a terrific speech at the Academic Senate about what happened.

##

LaBerge: He filed the answers--

Cheit: Yes, I have it here. This is a meeting on May 23, 1969. It was in the Pauley Ballroom--it was a *very* emotional meeting--there must have been 1000 people there.

LaBerge: But just members of the senate?

Cheit: Yes, the Academic Senate--the faculty was there. He opens up by saying, "We are meeting today in the midst of tragedy and outrage. One man is dead, many have been injured by shots, nightsticks, rocks, lead pipes; many have been tear-gassed, many more severely inconvenienced. I deeply regret these injuries and am appalled by the violence."

And then he goes on to analyze what happened. He says, "I have no authority over law enforcement. I expressly requested that tear gas not be used, that the National Guard not be assigned a patrol on campus, that guards that must be assigned to campus duty that their bayonets be sheathed, that the use of the helicopters over the campus be stopped. We had no reason to believe that firearms would be used."

He carefully goes through the whole thing. He made some masterful statements, and then he says that, "You have asked me to answer fourteen questions. And I have done that. I have given them to the secretary of the senate, and I have copies here for anybody who wants to read them." I will not read the thing now, but just let me give you what the questions were, or some of them: Was the land now called People's Park acquired with state allocated funds, and if not, what was the source of the funds? Has other land been acquired within the last fifteen years by other than state allocated funds? If so, what land? Are the dormitories customarily filled to capacity? What are the plans for the land in the next seven years? Was the land bought for the purpose of constructing dormitories? Was there an agreement between the

university and the city, and if so, was the land comprising People's Park included in areas to be acquired by the university? What were the taxes on the parcels that the university took? What was the communication between the university and the city? Is it lawful in the chancellor's judgement to acquire property for the principal purposes of changing the social character of a neighborhood?"

And you see, this was one of the accusations. There's an article in, I think, *Ramparts*, that Robert Scheer wrote that what this was really about was the university's effort to wipe out the turf of the political movements in the south campus.

LaBerge: And who is Robert Scheer?

Cheit: Oh, he was a journalist for the *LA Times*. Before that he was on the *Ramparts* staff. And anyway, here are the answers to the questions. They're very straight Roger Heyns, straight answers.

LaBerge: Did you help prepare any of that?

Cheit: Yes. All of us had a hand in this, but fundamentally it was his sensibility and his approach that prevailed. Bob Cole and I worked with him on this.

LaBerge: Well, you were at the regents' meeting when this all happened. Did you go home?

Cheit: I was at the regents' meetings when the violence started. We came home that afternoon, yes.

LaBerge: I mean, were you called and asked, "Please get back?" Or how did you find out about it?

Cheit: Bob Johnson was the vice chancellor for student affairs and he was here and we may have talked to him. This happened at noon. And I think it was the second day of the regents' meeting, and so we left shortly thereafter. But we were told what was happening. And we came.

LaBerge: When you came back, where did you go? Did you come to campus or did you--

Cheit: Yes, we did. And you know, I had followed the People's Park development. I went over there, had walked around, I knew a little bit about it.

LaBerge: You probably knew a lot about it!

Cheit: Well, yes. Anyway, we came back and started to try to do what we could.

LaBerge: Make phone calls.

Cheit: Well, first we tried to get as much information and then get whatever control of the situation we could, which wasn't a lot. The violence petered out in the following weeks. In the

meantime, the chancellor wanted to find someone who represented the people from the park, and to negotiate use of the land. A group was established that had somebody from the Berkeley Chamber of Commerce and somebody from the faculty, and the park committee. It sent a kid--about a fourteen-year-old. I don't know who he was. We only had his first name. He was to be their representative. Of course, they were trying to humiliate us, and so that group didn't go anywhere. And the truth is that this problem has never been solved.

LaBerge: No, I mean, all these years later.

Four Possible "Causes"

Cheit: Right. The American Association for Higher Education asked me to give a talk about this subject, and I went to Chicago and presented a long summary. I told them that articles, reports, and publications, presented four basic answers to the question, Why did an attempt by the university to develop its land in accordance with a publicized plan recommended by campus committees result in a violent confrontation? People give answers of four types. One is because it was a plot by the university to wipe out the street people. Second, because it was a plot by the street people to start a revolution. Third, because a band of thieves stole some of the property that the university had to fight to get back. And fourth, because this was another phase in a game called man the barricades, a game played whenever the board can be set up with issues and pawns.

I noted that as for, "Those who say that the university was trying to wipe out political organizations, it would come as a surprise to the regents that they were doing this ten years before these organizations came into existence." The regents adopted the plan in the fifties. As for whether it's a plot to start a revolution, I pointed out why I didn't take that seriously.

The band of thieves who stole some property, that was the view of Al Capp, the cartoonist who created Li'l Abner. He wrote a long letter to the *New York Times*, furious at a *New York Times Sunday Magazine* article about the People's Park saying that this is a case of people essentially appropriating some university property for their own use. The band of thieves is an interesting explanation, but I think that the game of man the barricades tells us more. Some of the early participants have said that their actions were spontaneous. There may be some truth in that, but the dominating actions soon became tactical.

I base this on what we later learned from people who were leaders in this game. It didn't start with a plan, it evolved. We were set up and we behaved as they hoped we would. The postmortem that I received from people who were most active in the original movement on the park was, "If you'd have put the fence up the first week, this never would have happened. Once we got the momentum going, we had you." And I think they're right.

LaBerge: So you got together with people and had a friendly relationship there, or--

Cheit: Well, I'd say a relationship in which we could talk. It wasn't friendly in the sense that we went out to have a beer together, but we talked. Anyway, it became a stalemate and was in that state when I left the administration. The street appeal of preventing the university from using the land is waning, but still strong enough to continue the stalemate and the public safety problem. Eventually, student interest will prevail.

LaBerge: What kind of communication did you have with the governor's office?

Cheit: To my knowledge, none. I just flipped through this report to the governor and I don't see any indication of any kind of communication. It's an interesting and not terribly objective report, but there's a lot of information that you wouldn't find in other places. Anyway, the People's Park sort of petered out in the late spring and then I left the chancellor's office, as I said, September 1. There were serious upheavals here after that.

LaBerge: The Cambodian invasion.

Cheit: The Cambodian invasion [May 1970].

LaBerge: You probably left and thought you'd left the worst of it behind you.

Building Zellerbach Hall

Cheit: Yes, and I wasn't involved in those affairs. I mentioned earlier that '68 was the centennial year.

LaBerge: And you talked about the Berkeley Citation, but you just mentioned--I thought you were going to say more about building Zellerbach Hall?

Cheit: Oh, yes. I was.

LaBerge: Do you have time?

Cheit: Yes, I do. On May 14, the chancellor spoke to the senate and he said the following: "That next week a series of impressive musical and dramatic and scientific programs will conclude most of the planned centennial celebration. There'll be an American opera premiere in Hertz Hall, the National Greek Theater will perform in the Greek Theatre, and Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft will conduct several musical programs in Zellerbach Hall Auditorium. That auditorium will not be fully completed until the fall, but the contractor has permitted us to use it for these musical events which will feature the university chorus and orchestra."

And so then Stravinsky was here. He and his wife were here. He did not conduct. He was already too infirm. But Robert Craft, his longtime collaborator did. Zellerbach Hall was built

during the years of the great trauma on the campus. And it was designed by the campus architect who's still around, who designed the lower Sproul Plaza, [Professor] Vernon De Mars. He was a member of the faculty and also had a private practice. The budget was very tight and we took about ten feet off of the lobby. We saved something like \$600,000, which at that time seemed like a huge amount of money. Money appropriated for it was very limited. Clark Kerr, a great believer in the arts, wanted the building. Berkeley didn't have a performing arts auditorium. It was a serious campus shortcoming.

I believe I sent you a copy of that biographical statement Cal Performances prepared about me.

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: It points out that when I was vice chancellor, I sponsored a student opera--in fact, two of them--led by Christopher Keene, a student. He was a history student here who later became head of the New York City Opera. They put them on in Wheeler Hall Aud. It was just the most minimal sort of facility. And so the plan of Zellerbach Hall was in the mill when I became vice chancellor, as was the [art] museum. But we didn't have enough money for it. And we were trying to find money. I must say that people weren't breaking the door down to give money to us during these times. But Harold Zellerbach gave a gift.

LaBerge: Did you have anything to do with raising the money?

Cheit: I did not. No, Roger and Clark did. And so Clark and Roger went to the regents to get it named Zellerbach Hall. There are a couple of kind of postscripts to that. One is that then some groups--maybe student or non-student--said, "Well, this is named after a greedy multinational corporation that is ripping off people." And so there were some protests about the name Zellerbach. But those died down pretty quickly.

Roger comments on that in his speech to the senate when he said "It's a beautiful building but not everyone's happy with its name. That's not surprising. It's hard to think of a philanthropist to whom some serious objection could not be made. Those protesters who are Ford, Carnegie, DuPont, Rockefeller, or Guggenheim scholars might ponder the point." [laughter] That was typical Roger Heyns. Anyway, he points out that the gift was made by Harold from his own funds or through his family foundation, a very honorable family. The protest died out very quickly.

But the other thing is that the Zellerbach Foundation has over the years been generously supportive of the hall. They made possible new seats--well, they're now several years old, new carpet, a new light board, new curtain, among other things.

LaBerge: Is that when your association with Cal Performances started?

Cheit: Well, my association with the arts on campus actually started when the hall was set to open. There wasn't a budget. No money had been allocated. I created a group to work on this and

other things. There were no policies, who would use this new facility and so on. The group was called the Zellerbach Hall Policy Board, and I was its chairman. We created a budget and policies for the use of the facility. One of our most important projects was tuning the hall. Its reverberation time was better suited to speaking than to music. We hired a famous acoustical engineer from Los Angeles--a man named [Vern] Knudsen--who installed recorders in the hall. We had a little ceremony. A campus police officer walked to center stage and fired a blank. The findings led us to modify some walls, remove some carpeting and change the curtains. The results were highly satisfying.

In the early seventies, I served on the Committee for Arts and Lectures, and was its chairman for a while. Then I rotated off the committee though I can't remember now why. Then when Robert Cole came here, an advisory committee to work with him was established and the chancellor asked me to be its chairman. Five years ago we changed the advisory committee to a board of trustees and the members elected me the chairman. I just rotated out of that, but I'm still a member of the board.

LaBerge: Yes, I'd like to go into that more, I mean, we'll spend a lot more time on that. Any more thoughts on leaving the Heyns administration?

Roger Heyns's Team

Cheit: Yes. As I look back over that period, I had no question in my mind that I was going to leave on sabbatical. I had not planned to be an administrator, and although much of my life at the university has been in administration, I always considered myself a faculty member first. We got a lot done, which I attribute to Roger Heyns. He was a highly effective leader who cared about academic achievement. We had a fine centennial celebration, built new facilities, and created the professional schools that I mentioned. Most of all--in my view, our most important achievement--was that we protected values and processes essential to the integrity and future of the university. Roger was always dissatisfied with the amount of change we were successful in creating at the undergraduate level, which was a very keen interest of his. But when you think of [laughs] what occupied our time--

LaBerge: Exactly.

Cheit: It was a period of quite a bit of achievement, and so when I left I didn't feel like I was leaving him in the lurch. I felt it was a solid administration and it would continue to move ahead.

LaBerge: Well, in his oral history,¹ he attributes the goodness of the time to his team.

¹Roger W. Heyns, "Berkeley Chancellor, 1965-1971; The University in a Turbulent Society," an oral history conducted in 1986 by Harriet Nathan, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1987.

Cheit: Well, I'll tell you, there's a lot of truth in that, but the team only became his team because they admired him so much. He set the tone. He was an ethical man, a very smart man, and in a way, you know, this sounds ironic, but unusual for a university chancellor or president, because he really was interested in education. [laughter] He really cared about education. We are in contact with Esther, his widow, who is now living in Michigan and is somewhat infirm. May I add something here about Roger Heyns?

LaBerge: Of course, go ahead.

Cheit: My reference to Esther reminded me. During his service as president of the Hewlett family foundation, Roger lived on the Peninsula and attended the chapel on the Stanford campus. He died in September, 1995, and as I think I mentioned earlier, his memorial service was held there.

LaBerge: You did mention the rock his son gave you at that service.

Cheit: Well, Chang-Lin felt it was important that Cal have a memorial service for Roger, so he organized one in December, 1995, entitled "In Appreciation of Roger Heyns." Clark Kerr, Chang-Lin and various members of the Heyns administration spoke. The first part of the program was held in the Morrison Room of the library. Then everyone moved to the Wickson Grove, that large stand of redwoods that Roger saved.

LaBerge: This is new to me.

Cheit: When Roger became chancellor, University Drive, the east/west road through the campus, was open to motorists and parking. Plans for the new Moffitt Library relocated the road through the redwood grove. As people became aware of this, they began to protest to save the redwoods. Roger closed the road, experimentally. The fire marshal, emergency services, and angry faculty and staff nixed that. Next he proposed a plan that spared some of the trees. The protests grew. Howard Mel, a quiet serious scientist, was planning a protest on the site. He enlisted our famous composer, Andrew Imbrie, to write music for the occasion: "Ode to a Chain Saw."

LaBerge: What a drama!

Cheit: Roger and the staff came up with the plan now in place. Move Moffitt a bit, make a curved road around the trees, one that is not open to regular traffic. The redwoods were saved, and instead of a protest, a celebration was held in June, 1969. A new Imbrie composition was performed: "Here We Stand." He gave me the signed score, which I hereby give to you to give to the archives.

LaBerge: This is wonderful. So that is where the memorial service was held twenty-six years later?

Cheit: Yes. I recounted the full story, and we dedicated the area "Heyns Grove." A plaque is installed that recounts and honors Roger's actions in saving the redwoods. At the dedication, "Here We Stand" was performed by members of the university's Double Brass Ensemble. Another faculty member, William Siri, long-time Sierra Club leader, was pleased and I was delighted. Roger was away so I spoke. The newspaper account says that "Vice-Chancellor Cheit said at one point that he was concerned that in light of the essentially druidic nature of the ceremony, it might end with an administrator's entrails wrapped around a tree."

LaBerge: It's a beautiful area. I'll have to go over and see that plaque.

Shall we return to your sabbatical?

Cabin at LaSelva Beach, 1969

Cheit: Yes. June and I were looking forward to the next phase of our life. We had looked around for a long time for a little retreat that we could go to. She had a model in her mind of a cabin, based on her childhood in Minnesota when her father used to take her fishing in northern Minnesota and they'd stay in a modest cabin that was single-wall construction. It had the studs exposed, the beams exposed, the wood exposed, and a corrugated metal roof. She had in her mind a kind of a rough cabin like that. We looked and looked. Every place was too expensive. Finally we found an acre of land south of Aptos, a few miles south of Aptos, and we learned about it through my colleague Dow Votaw, now retired, who learned about it through his colleague and longtime friend, Fran Violich, who was head of landscape architecture here.

Fran had laid out a subdivision and in exchange for his fee, he was given an acre of land, in a ravine going down to Monterey Bay. There were three more acres for sale. Two had been purchased and one was still available. So June and I bought that acre of land. We had Bob Ratcliff design a cabin. He was a well-known Berkeley architect. He was designing the chancellor's house and one of the colleges at the Santa Cruz campus. The Santa Cruz campus is only about twelve miles from our land, and so he agreed to design a cabin for us and did what June wanted--designed it with exposed beams. He could only afford to do that because he was going down there anyway. We put his design out to bid, and the contractor we selected said he could do it in ninety days. The ninety days were up on August 30, 1969.

LaBerge: Oh, my gosh.

Cheit: He built it in ninety days. And so on September 1, 1969, we took possession of our new cabin.

LaBerge: What little town is it in? Does it have a name?

Cheit: Well, it's in a subdivision called Los Barrancos de Aptos. It's about a mile from LaSelva Beach.

LaBerge: Do you have to go into LaSelva to--

Cheit: No. We have to drive through the subdivision that Fran Violich laid out. Anyway, we started our sabbatical by taking possession and moving some old furniture that we had into the cabin. We still have that cabin. And that's how I started the sabbatical.

LaBerge: So did you spend the sabbatical there?

Cheit: No. Just the beginning.

LaBerge: Well, maybe we'll just keep that for another time. Did you take your kids down there, or they stayed in school?

Cheit: Sure. Oh, no, we didn't take them out of school to go down there, no.

X RESEARCH AND WRITING ON HIGHER EDUCATION, 1969-1976

[Interview 14: April 18, 2001] ##

Sabbatical, 1969

LaBerge: Okay, last time we ended you were just going to your cabin and starting your sabbatical, so tell me what you had planned for the sabbatical. This is 1969.

Cheit: Right, this was the fall of 1969. Our first priority was to decompress and to enjoy this cabin, which we did very much. We got settled and became familiar with our new surroundings. This cabin is about three miles south of Aptos, in a canyon that goes down to Monterey Bay. I might add that we were in a fool's paradise. We had one acre of land, but there wasn't anything developed around us. Now it's really quite developed and we're the only vacation home left there, because land prices are so high.

Seminar at Harvard Business School

Cheit: I had been invited to go to Wilton Park in England, and en route stopped in Boston. I had been invited to come to Harvard by the dean of the business school, Lawrence Fouraker. So we went to the Harvard Business School and stayed with him in the dean's house on the campus.

LaBerge: Was this your whole family or just you?

Cheit: No, just the two of us. And I learned a little bit about the inner workings of the Harvard Business School. Larry delighted in pointing out to me that his budgeted deficit at the beginning of the year that he had to make up with fundraising--just the budgeted deficit--was bigger than my whole budget. [laughter] And just to give you a sense of his life, one of the things he was concerned about was hiring a new pastry chef for their dining facility. [laughs] It's a different world than the one a dean of a business school at Berkeley lives in.

LaBerge: Right. I bet you've never had to do that here.

Cheit: No. But at that time of course I wasn't a dean, but I had hired deans, but never with this kind of scope of activity. We stayed there for about a week. It was a very pleasant time. I gave a seminar. [Nathan] Nate Pusey was then president of Harvard, and the four of us went to chapel, on Sunday morning, and heard him do the reading, as he always did. I see [Lawrence] Larry Summers is now the new president of Harvard. The press account of his new job didn't say whether it included doing the readings in chapel.

From there we went to Europe and eventually to England and then to Sussex and Wilton Park, a manor house near the medieval market town of Steyning.

Wilton Park

LaBerge: Tell me how you got invited to the Wilton Park.

Cheit: Well, I'm not entirely sure. Wilton Park runs a series of discussions. They're intense discussion sessions for two weeks, and you live there, you eat there, you sleep there, and discuss there, with about--my recollection is maybe thirty-five, forty people. They come from Europe mainly, England, and a few from the U.S.

Wilton Park was set up after World War II really to invite many Germans to gain experience with discussions about democracy. The Brits had the idea that if Germany was going to become democratic, it had to come from within. And people would have to have experience, and so the first people at Wilton Park were actually German prisoners of war. This was run at that time and financed by the British Foreign Office.

I don't know how I was invited. Someone recommended me or someone heard of me. The topics are always important policy issues, international affairs. There was a lot of discussion about Vietnam. Campus unrest was one of the main things on the agenda. We had two very invigorating weeks at Wilton Park and then returned slowly to our home in Berkeley. I was then going to start retooling and catching up with journals and getting back to teaching.

Clark Kerr and the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education

LaBerge: And were you going to stay in Berkeley? Was that the plan?

Cheit: Yes. But in the meantime, Clark Kerr, who had been fired as president of the university, was starting a new venture. By the way, we're talking here just before Clark's ninetieth birthday. Clark's going to be ninety in about two weeks.

LaBerge: Oh, my gosh.

Cheit: There is going to be a day and a half celebration of him on May 4 and 5. I think he turns ninety on May 18.

At any rate, Clark was asked by the Carnegie Corporation--it's the major Carnegie philanthropy. They asked him to set up a commission on higher education. They funded it out of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching--CFAT. He set up offices in downtown Berkeley, originally on Center Street.

LaBerge: Just because this is where Clark Kerr was?

Cheit: Right, because he lived here. He and a staff undertook a series of studies. I haven't checked lately, but the total output of the Carnegie Commission is perhaps about fifty volumes, and many interesting papers.

Writing *The New Depression in Higher Education*

Cheit: Clark came to me and said he'd like me to look into the financial status of higher education. He said that something had changed, that there was more financial pressure, and that when he talked to higher education officials, there was more concern about a fundamental shift in the financing of higher education. Well, skipping all the intermediate steps, I agreed that I would undertake such a study. The commission provided me with some financial support, and I traveled around to hear the views of various people and then formulated a study plan.

LaBerge: For instance, where did you go?

Cheit: Well, eventually I went to forty-one institutions, a series of private and public schools. I started here and then I went to Stanford.

LaBerge: I remember, there was a list.

Cheit: Right. Of forty-one.

LaBerge: I wonder how you chose them?

Cheit: Well, they weren't chosen randomly, certainly. They were chosen in order to represent different types of institutions: liberal arts colleges, a few two-year institutions and then the research universities. What I did was to create a way of looking at the direction that their finances were taking them. Or to put it in another way, if the forces now in motion stayed in motion, where would they be in three to five years.

I included Michigan, Minnesota, Harvard, NYU, among the research universities. I went to many leading ones. And then other doctoral granting institutions, such as Ohio University, St. Louis University, my old institution—and then the liberal arts colleges. I went to a series of liberal arts colleges. Then two-year colleges, we went to College of San Mateo, and then what are called comprehensive colleges. By the way, this classification came out of earlier Carnegie Commission work. The commission created a classification of the 3,000 colleges and universities in the U.S. and I used that classification to try to represent institutions in the major parts of the classification.

LaBerge: Did you have any trouble getting them to open their books and having people talk to you?

Cheit: No. People knew who I was, and they obviously knew who Clark was. My key assistant, research assistant, [who] was then a law student here, was a man by the name of Karl Payne. I had known him and had known how smart he was.

LaBerge: Had he been one of your students?

Cheit: No. He was the son of an old family friend. He had great personal presence. First he went with me and then he conducted some interviews by himself. We developed a standard format and gathered information from these forty-one institutions, and then analyzed it. I wrote the book, *The New Depression in Higher Education*. The title caught people's attention. And the book attracted a lot of interest. I was told that it led all of the Carnegie volumes in sales.

LaBerge: I noted in the follow-up book, when Clark Kerr wrote the introduction, he said what a landmark study that was.

Cheit: Well, I think it was regarded that way, yes. Clark had the book released in New York at a press conference. He knew how to get the word out. Somewhere in my files I still have that press release. The book came out in '71, this was now 1970. What's the official publication date of the book? Seventy-one is the publication date of the book. It was published by McGraw-Hill, the publisher for all of the Carnegie Commission studies.

My recollection is that this was December. There was a press conference not at the Waldorf Astoria, but at a modest hotel quite near the Waldorf Astoria. We joked about that. It was a huge press conference. Clark was there, of course. He presided and Alan Pifer, president of the Carnegie Corporation, and some other Carnegie brass and myself. But the room must have had seventy-five reporters there, from all over. It was really a big deal. It was a lot of fun. The *New York Times* ran it as a front-page story. First the *Times* interviewed me, then asked me to come to the paper and be interviewed as a "Man in the News." You know how they occasionally have a "Person in the News," now they call it? Anyway, I became the person in the news.¹

¹See Appendix

Interestingly enough, the person who wrote me up as man in the news was a night re-write man, so it wasn't a high status job at the time. [laughs] Someone else decided that I was the person in the news--some editor. The writer's name was Frank Prial. He is now the *Times*' wine specialist. You see his wine column. Later, Frank Prial went to France and worked in Paris. June and I had reason to go to Paris and I contacted him. He recommended certain caves, and we joined him for dinner. We stayed in touch for a while. I only see his byline now.

Anyway, the book attracted a lot of attention.

Conclusions and Follow-up Book

LaBerge: Why don't you tell me what new things it was saying?

Cheit: What we found was that some major institutions, having absorbed tremendous growth in enrollment in the sixties, were now under financial stress. Higher education in the U.S. went from an elite to a mass system, and the G.I. Bill was what made the enormous difference. The sixties brought terrific growth both in enrollment and in finance, but then the amount of revenue began to taper off and indeed, grow at a decreasing rate, and in some cases, actually declined. What we found, therefore, was that many institutions were under tremendous financial pressure; planning cuts of various kinds and trying to adapt to a new circumstance. That was the main point.

What the book did is try to show how the institutions are doing, we grouped them as "not in trouble," "headed for trouble," or "in trouble." And for the institutions that were headed for trouble or in trouble, we showed what they were doing to try to regain financial stability. The book named names. It stirred so much interest, that Carnegie asked me to do a two-year follow-up.

That was published in '73 to identify what happened in the two years.¹ It was enormously instructive, because in the two years there were many other studies that were stimulated by our earlier work. Now there was a lot of attention to the problem. And indeed, there was a certain amount of progress in the methods by which higher education was being financed. Let me just summarize it that way.

¹Earl F. Cheit, *The New Depression in Higher Education--Two Years Later*. A Technical Report Sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973.

Presentation to Foundation Group

Cheit: You asked what I did on my sabbatical. My work for the Carnegie Commission brought me an invitation to present a paper on the topic of higher education finance to a group of foundation executives. A group of general purpose foundations has its own small organization. There are about twelve of them. They were meeting at Hilton Head Island, a wonderful place. As a matter of fact, that's the place where President Clinton and his pals meet for the Renaissance weekend.

So June and I went to Hilton Head Island for about a week to meet with these foundation executives. And [McGeorge] Mac Bundy who was then president of the Ford Foundation was there.

LaBerge: And had you known him before?

Cheit: No. Just as a public figure. And Alan Pifer, president of the Carnegie Corporation, was there. Clark was invited--Clark and Kay Kerr. There were perhaps thirty people there. One participant, a trustee then of the Ford Foundation, was Vernon Jordan. Vernon Jordan was very much in the news, as you know, as President Clinton's pal, trying to get Monica Lewinsky a job.

LaBerge: [laughs] We haven't heard about him in a while.

Ford Foundation, Division of Higher Education and Research, 1972

Cheit: Anyway, it was a very interesting time. I presented my research findings to a small group that discussed them at great length. There were other presentations on issues of interest to foundations, and we had time for fun. Out of this meeting came an invitation for me to come to the Ford Foundation to work in their Division of Higher Education and Research. They've now reorganized, but at that time the division was headed by Harold Howe, a very well-known figure in government and in foundation circles. He was then vice president of the division. June and I talked it over and decided to accept the invitation. So in 1972, we moved East.

LaBerge: Okay. In the meantime, had you been back here on campus teaching?

Cheit: I was teaching and working for Carnegie. I was teaching half time. Teaching loads were somewhat higher in those days. I think half-time teaching was close to what full-time teaching is these days. [laughs] I think I was teaching either two or three courses a year.

Decision to Move East

LaBerge: Well, tell me about making the decision to move East and your family's reaction.

Cheit: Well, that was tricky because two of our children had left home and were going to school. Wendy was at UC Irvine and David was here at Berkeley, living on the campus. But two of our kids were living at home and one was going to be a high school senior--that was Ross.

LaBerge: Oh, that's very tricky.

Cheit: Yes. [laughter] And the other one, Julie, our youngest child and younger daughter was going to go into the ninth grade. So these were hard moves. We discussed it with them and they were up for it. The one thing that worried Ross was debate. He was going to Kennedy High School in Richmond and very active in debate.

LaBerge: I remember we talked about that when you were--

Cheit: He and Julie had volunteered to take the bus to that school. Ross was very active in debate and quite successful at it, so naturally he wanted to go to a school that had a good debate program. We wrote to the American High School Debate Society, and we got a list of schools. When we went East to look around, we had narrowed it down to about three places that were said to have good debate programs. And we looked at the various places. A contender was Morristown, New Jersey, and another was Westport, Connecticut, where we ended up. We decided to go to Westport.

LaBerge: And that has a train to New York.

Cheit: That's right. The New Haven line took you into Grand Central terminal, which has an exit on Forty-third Street. The Ford Foundation was at 320 East Forty-third Street.

We rented a house, sight unseen, through a real estate agent, and we ended up on Thomas Road. I think it was Number Eight, Thomas Road, in Westport. We drove across the country in our old Pontiac station wagon and had a lot of fun, stopping in North Dakota. In fact, that picture that you see on my wall is a photo Ross took of a North Dakota farm scene.

LaBerge: And did you stop in your home town?

Cheit: No. We went the northern route. But we stopped for visits in Minneapolis and Ann Arbor. We saw Niagara Falls, and arrived in Westport, which is about forty-four miles north of Manhattan.

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LaBerge: Okay, so you were looking up on the map?

Cheit: We found the real estate dealer who rented the house to us, and she took us to 8 Thomas Road and we moved in. It was furnished, or largely--we didn't have any furniture with us. It was quite an experience. I would add just coincidentally that of our four children, two live on the West Coast and two live on the East Coast, and the two who live on the East Coast are the two who were with us in Westport.

LaBerge: Oh. And what did you do with your house here?

Cheit: We rented it out.

LaBerge: How long did you think that you were going to be there?

Cheit: One year. I had a one-year leave.

Program Officer in Charge (POIC)

Cheit: My job was at that time program officer in the division of Higher Education and Research. And what happened was that my immediate boss, the man who was program officer in charge, or as the foundation called him, POIC, for Program Officer In Charge--[laughter] a few months later he was promoted to head up a new division on the environment. And so the foundation made me a POIC. I became the program officer in charge. [laughter]

LaBerge: So what did that entail?

Cheit: Well, it entailed overseeing a group of nine program officers who were concerned with making grants--higher education and research grants. As a program officer in charge, I had \$20,000 signature authority. It made me think a great deal about philanthropy and the sort of freedom I had.

LaBerge: Let's put that in today's terms, how much would we say that--

Cheit: Well, that was 1972-1973. The consumer price index now has risen about three and a half times. I don't know that they've given program officers in charge \$65,000 or \$75,000 signature authority. But I thought a great deal about it. If a young humanist came to me to say he wants to study the Ghiberti doors in Florence, I had the power to make that possible.

The Ghiberti doors were damaged in a flood. Recently June and I were in Florence and we went to look at how they were restored. They look okay to me. But nobody ever came and asked me to study the Ghiberti doors. [laughs] But when you reflect on it, it is a wide range of freedom. At a time when an orchestra conductor, say, Michael Tilson Thomas, wants to hire a horn player, he has to audition the applicants behind a screen.

LaBerge: Meaning he can't see their faces?

Cheit: He cannot see who it is. The goal is to take bias out of hiring decisions.

Freedom in Decision Making

Cheit: At a time when there are so many ways in which decision-making has been put in a process to assure input, and protections against arbitrariness or bias, there I was with \$20,000 signature authority. That responsibility really weighed on me, because it's one of the few places that I could think of that has that kind of freedom. It may be that if you're a big shot in a corporation, you have freedom over substantial sums, but not that I know of in higher education or in the arts.

Anyway, I worked at 320 East Forty-third Street, a Kevin Roche building. It is an absolutely stunning building. He designed it to fit beautifully with its surroundings. And he introduced the atrium. It has become a motel cliché today.

It was a wonderful place to work. I commuted on the New Haven.

LaBerge: Well, did you have guidelines for your signature power?

Cheit: Sure, and one didn't abuse it. I still have a file of the grants that I made during the time I was there. I admired the Ford Foundation for being willing to make grants to individuals. Many foundations have stopped because it's expensive and they prefer to give grants to institutions who themselves then redistribute it.

One of the first decisions I had to make as program officer in charge involved Berkeley. This campus had applied for and was granted funds for a follow-up study on graduate education. It was \$200,000 or \$300,000. And the campus hadn't filed a timely report, and the grant was suspended. So one of my first dealings was with [Chancellor Albert] Al Bowker, and getting that grant reinstated. It wasn't his fault, and I agreed with that, and I got it reinstated. But the campus looked bad in the foundation's eyes, procedurally sloppy.

The foundation was a crossroads. Sooner or later everybody came to the foundation. And Mac Bundy was a very gregarious guy. He used to have luncheons in the foundation dining room on the tenth floor, and he'd invite some of his old Washington buddies to speak. So Henry Kissinger came, as did John Kenneth Galbraith, and various others who were in the Kennedy administration.

Living in Westport, Connecticut

Cheit: We lived in Westport. The New Haven--if things worked perfectly--was a one hour and six minute ride for me. But it rarely worked perfectly. I walked from Grand Central to my office. Westport is not as fancy as Greenwich, but it is more of an arts place. Many people who are in the arts in New York live there.

What I discovered is that Westport, the town, was run by the old ethnics. Primarily Italians who came there and now did what appeared to be the humdrum work, they hauled the garbage and they ran the hardware store and the lumber yards. But the fact is, they also ran the town. They determined what the schools did. All these high-powered executives--including the head of ABC and various media figures who got on the train in the morning--had very little clout in the schools or the town. That always tickled me.

LaBerge: Well, did it turn out that the debate team was in fact good?

Cheit: It was a very interesting story. The debate team had a reputation better than it now deserved. The teacher who ran it left. But they put it back together and Ross and his partner won the New England championship. So it was a big success.

Our son had an easier time because of debate than Julie did. It was very tough going in the ninth grade. I admired her. School just started and there was a dance. The girls were supposed to invite the boys. Well, she barely knew a boy's name! But she had the courage to pick up the phone. She was turned down because the boy she called didn't know who she was. But she came through. I really admired both of them.

Every part of the country has its own provincialism. We were used to Berkeley provincialism and now we encountered East Coast provincialism. It was a little more formal and a little less sort of welcoming, but we had a good time.

LaBerge: Did you take advantage of New York?

Cheit: Yes. June and I subscribed to a Sunday afternoon chamber series at Lincoln Center. But the theater was difficult because of the train schedule. One evening we went to see a famous production of *Streetcar [Named Desire]* with Julie Harris. It was a stunning production, but it started late. We were in the middle of a row. Suddenly we realized if we didn't catch the 11:02, the next one would leave at 1:15 a.m. It was just absurd. So just before the rape scene [laughter] we got up, "Excuse me, excuse me," and we left. The reviewer said this was one of the great productions of *Streetcar*.

People in the suburbs have to really be determined. You can see why the matinees are so popular.

But we saw the area. And Ross, being a senior in high school, had already been doing research about schools, so we looked at schools. He narrowed it down to two schools that he wanted to visit—one was Princeton and one was Williams, so I took him to both. He loved Williams but he did not like Princeton, a beautiful campus. I would have signed up in a minute. But he had a negative reaction. So he applied to Williams, was admitted and had a good experience there.

Declining an Enticing Offer

Cheit: As the year started to come to a close, Mac Bundy asked me if I would be interested in a permanent job at the foundation. The offer was to be not only POIC, but assistant vice president. And then when Doc Howe retired, the expectation was I would become vice president of higher education and research. And the whole budget of the division which included higher education, and K-12--the total grant budget was about \$48 million. That was a tough decision for me.

It's a seductive work setting. Women would come in from time-to-time to rub this emulsion into my leather desktop. Here [at UC Berkeley] if you get your office cleaned once a year, you feel lucky.

LaBerge: Right, right.

Cheit: I consulted various people about the foundation offer.

LaBerge: You mean before making the decision?

Cheit: Yes. A friend of mine, Joe Kershaw, who had worked at the foundation, said, "When you start thinking that people are deferential because of who you are rather than for Henry's estate, then it's time to get out of the foundation world." Anyway, my offer was for an important job, but after a lot of thinking about it, I decided that I wanted to be an academic and that I wanted to go back to the university here.

I'd become vice chancellor through a series of events, and I'd come into the foundation world almost by accident. I felt it was time to get back to my main job, teaching and research.

LaBerge: In the course of our interviews, you have mentioned that you'd made that decision at some point, that that's what you really wanted to do.

Cheit: Right. June and I had several discussions and decided we were going to go back. When I told Mac, he countered by saying, "Well, will you stay long enough to help us find a successor?" I agreed to do that.

June and I drove back to California, but not with Ross. He was off to Williamstown. Julie was in a ballet camp in Massachusetts. But we had our dog with us.

Then I went back to New York to help find a successor. The foundation put me up in a small apartment in the Mayfair, which is at Sixty-fifth and Park, a lovely hotel. And I could walk to work then. In the morning, my upper East Side neighborhood felt like Europe. But at night, it was totally dead.

From the women on my staff I learned what they called the single girls' survival strategy: eat a large lunch, and very little for dinner. I had a little kitchenette, but I never cooked. I came home to California about every second weekend.

LaBerge: That isn't too bad.

Cheit: No. I got to know those American Airlines pilots on the same flights. I could tell when they had a clean shirt. I stayed in New York for almost six months. I found a successor, and finished there very happily. When I left, in gratitude to me, they gave me what they called a handshake grant, something to let me get back to my research work.

Carnegie Council Associate Director; Teaching in the School of Education

LaBerge: So what did you use that for?

Cheit: In the meantime, the Carnegie Commission had run its course, and Clark [Kerr] had created a successor organization, the Carnegie Council. I brought the grant to the Carnegie Council. Clark in the meantime said, "Look, you can work on your grant, but I want you to work with me as an administrator in the Carnegie Council." He asked me to become associate director of the council.

LaBerge: Okay, this is 1973?

Cheit: Yes. The end of '73, yes, and maybe summer or early fall. Now my research interests had changed. I was writing and thinking about higher education. I had visited many colleges and universities and I had come to know their inner workings, and so I felt I should teach in this field. Berkeley is a research university. One ought to be teaching in the field where one is doing research. So I volunteered to teach in the School of Education.

LaBerge: Was that a problem?

Cheit: No. They were very pleased to have me. But I felt that I shouldn't be there as a visitor. And so I told them if they wanted me, I would switch half of my FTE there. They were delighted to do it. They voted to have me join the faculty there. I moved half of my position out of the

business school into the School of Education. I started by teaching a seminar called Financing Higher Education. I had many good students. I'm still in touch with some who are in administrative positions in colleges around the country.

In the business school, I was teaching a course called the Social and Political Environment of Business. And I went to work for the Carnegie Council. Clark had asked if I would work on a book on the professional schools in the university. Since I'm in a professional school, the idea interested me, so I decided I'd like to study and write about them. This book is the result.

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Cheit: When did it come out? In '75 Clark knew of my interest in this subject. I was gathering materials about it when I went to the Ford Foundation. At the council I had the help of a very able woman by the name of Janet Messman. She did a lot of the research for the monograph.

I also had two students from the business school--two MBAs who worked as research assistants. They were also helpful. And one, [Robert] Bob Geske, is now a professor at UCLA; the other, Richard Gleitsman, is in industry.

I had the idea, since I was teaching in the School of Education, that I would look at four professional schools. What I would do is examine the relationship of useful and liberal in the setting in the university. I chose agriculture, engineering, business, and forestry. I taught a seminar in the location of its subject matter. When we talked about forestry, we moved to the School of Forestry. We had a seminar room there. We distributed an invitation in every faculty mailbox inviting faculty and graduate students to sit in as we talked about forestry. And we did the same thing with agriculture, engineering, and business.

The Useful Arts and the Liberal Tradition

Cheit: It was exciting to lead that class. And if you look at the chapter headings of the book,¹ I first deal with the tension between "useful" and "liberal," and then how the old arts--the useful--became the new professions. It gave me a chance to analyze the views of Cardinal Newman, to consider the people who excoriated business schools, and the people who'd defended them back in the early days of higher education.

The chapter heads tell you both the text and the subtext: "Agriculture: The Search for a Dual Purpose Cow." And "Engineering: Providing Captains for the Army of Industry." "Business Administration: Trade Comes to the University." And "Forestry: How Much More than Timber Management." The seminar dealt with those issues.

¹Earl F. Cheit, *The Useful Arts and the Liberal Tradition* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975)

Out of that work came this book: *The Useful Arts and the Liberal Tradition*, a project that put me in touch with ideas and subject matter that have helped me understand higher education and understand the professions. And now I'm back at the Carnegie Council and I am a part-time administrator, the associate director, teaching in the School of Education and in the School of Business.

The Ford grant provided for postdocs. The theory was that I ought to be passing along to advanced students what I'm learning. I had postdocs, people who wanted to do research before going on into higher education administration. My job was to work with and to oversee what they were doing. One was [Theodore] Ted Lobman, who's now head of the Stuart Foundations. Another was Ike Tribble, who is now vice president of the Florida Higher Education system. A third was Phil McGough, who I think, is now teaching at Sonoma State. It was wonderful to oversee them and to work with them.

Then I did various things for the council. I helped produce a book that's called *More than Survival*¹. If you look at the preface, you'll see I'm listed as the principal author. Several people worked on it. The book looked ahead at both the economic and non-economic challenges to colleges and universities.

Then Ted Lobman and I started a book on *Foundations and Higher Education*² which we didn't finish until 1979. It was my last publication in the Carnegie series. We had hoped the book would stimulate a move toward accountability in grant making. I can't say it had that effect, at least in the short-run.

Search for Dean for School of Business

Cheit: In 1975, late 1975, the business school was conducting a search for a dean, because Dean [Richard] Dick Holton had decided to rotate back to the faculty after having been a very successful dean for eight years. The search committee found a good candidate who was dean at the University of Oregon. He said he'd come and they were very pleased with him, and then he, having said he'd come, backed out for family reasons.

LaBerge: What was his name?

¹Earl F. Cheit, *More Than Survival: Prospects for Higher Education in a Period of Uncertainty* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1975)

²*Foundations and Higher Education: Grant Making from Golden Years through Steady State*. A Technical Report for the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education (Berkeley, CA: the Council, 1979)

Cheit: Dick West. He later became dean of NYU Business School. An outstanding person, he was a successful dean at NYU. Anyway, the chairman of the search committee paid me a call one day and asked if would I consider being the dean. I was taken by surprise and said I needed time to think about it.

LaBerge: Who was the chairman of this?

Cheit: The person who came to see me was Nils Hakansson. Nils is a distinguished professor of finance.

LaBerge: Did you feel removed from the business school because you were doing all these other things?

Cheit: Yes, to some extent, but I had kept my hand in. I felt in touch, but not deeply in touch. June and I talked about it at length. I cared a lot about the school and decided to do it. And so in 1976, I became dean of the business school.

I think we should end here.

LaBerge: That's a good place to start next time.

Cheit: I moved my grant out of the Carnegie Council and into the Institute of Business and Economic Research, so that my research assistants could be here. And I started the process of moving my half FTE out of education back to the business school.

LaBerge: All of that is pretty complex, I mean, it takes a lot of--

Cheit: It's enormously complex, yes.

Trustee at Chatham College and Mills College

[Interview 15: May 17, 2001] ##

LaBerge: Well, when we stopped last time, we'd gotten you from New York to Berkeley but we left out a few things. Tell me about becoming a trustee of Chatham College and Mills College.

Cheit: When I did the book for the Carnegie Council, *The Useful Arts and the Liberal Tradition*, my research focussed on the land grant colleges, which have always interested me. One of the best books on the history of the land grant college was written by Ted Eddy, Edward Eddy. His book and original sources were very helpful to me. When I went to the Ford Foundation, he came to see me. He was the president of Chatham College. He was seeking a grant for the college. We talked at length about his book and my work then underway.

We started corresponding about land grant colleges. Then one day he called to say that Chatham had the policy of having two faculty members from outside institutions on their board. Would I join the board? I thought about it and I was interested. I liked him. I knew almost nothing about Chatham, but women's colleges have always interested me because I'd seen the social science research showing why they're so important. I knew the data about women succeeding in careers and in public service at much higher ratios coming from women's colleges than from co-ed institutions. Eventually I agreed to go on the board.

LaBerge: Where is this?

Cheit: It's in Pittsburgh. It has a fine campus right in the middle of Pittsburgh, a wooded rural setting. The other academic who was on the board was David Truman, a distinguished political scientist from Columbia, who was chairman of the board of the Russell Sage Foundation.

As you know, I'm on the Mills board now.

LaBerge: Yes, I'm thinking that there's some correspondence here.

Cheit: Yes. Chatham aspired to be in the Seven Sisters league; Mills really is in that league.

But the Chatham board was a powerful board. It had John Oakes, who was the editorial page editor of the *New York Times* and was the man who created the op-ed page on the *New York Times*. It had Margie McNamara, Robert McNamara's wife. I learned a lot about or at least, I hope I learned a lot, about women's colleges. I served there for two five-year terms and rotated off in the early 1980s. I can't remember exactly, probably about 1984 or '85, maybe.

LaBerge: How many meetings a year?

Cheit: Three. I'd go back to Pittsburgh three times a year, but these were long meetings. Two days, usually. The most influential people on the board represented the old money of Pittsburgh. There were important lawyers and people from the Mellon Bank who really ran the board, but ran it with great skill and affection for the college.

The college had problems because when men's colleges like Princeton and Williams went co-ed, many of the outstanding young women went to those places. Chatham had an enrollment problem. It had a reasonable endowment, and the support of some wealthy people from Pittsburgh.

Then Ted Eddy left us. He became president of the University of Rhode Island. We hired a woman, Alberta Arthur, who was outstanding. About the time I was leaving the board, she left to become vice president of the Rockefeller Foundation.

LaBerge: She became vice president of the Rockefeller--not you?

Cheit: Right.

LaBerge: How did you come to serve on the Mills board?

Cheit: I had several contacts with the college over the years--I had participated in a conference and given a talk to some trustees. Also, June was in the Mills graduate program. Sometime in 1990 I was invited to lunch with a board committee. They later invited me to become a trustee. I admire the college so I accepted. Gene Trefethen was a trustee and he urged me to join.

LaBerge: Was this at the time of the student strike about co-education?

Cheit: It was shortly thereafter. When I joined the board, the strike had been settled and the college reaffirmed its mission as a single-sex liberal arts college for women. It also has graduate programs for men and women.

LaBerge: Who was the president when you joined the board?

Cheit: Jan Holmgren had been appointed the year before, and she is still there. She is an outstanding president. Last year she was head of the American Council on Education, the major organization for American colleges and universities.

LaBerge: Does Mills have terms for its board members?

Cheit: Oh yes, three year terms. A trustee can be reelected twice, for a total of nine years. When I finished my ninth year, the board asked me to stay on as lifetime trustee.

LaBerge: Anything else to add about Mills?

Cheit: Only that it's a gem, right here in Oakland. June and I tried to interest our two daughters in going to Mills, but neither wanted to. In recent years both have said that they regret not having gone. It has an outstanding faculty. Later in these interviews, I want to mention a bible class I have been attending. One of the books we just read was the new translation of the Song of Songs, by Chana Bloch, a Mills faculty member.

Margie McNamara, Mexico, and the World Bank

LaBerge: It's amazing to me, as your story unfolds, all the people you have met through these different things and how they kind of intersect.

Cheit: Well, I mentioned Margie McNamara. She was one of the founders of Reading is Fundamental, and very active in that program for reading for young children. I really admired

her. I speak of her in the past tense. She died. I got to know her quite well, and I had a lot of admiration and affection for her.

And in the it's a small world category, he [Robert McNamara] was at that point head of the World Bank. One time June and I went to Mexico for a holiday. When June was a college student she bicycled through Mexico, so she really had a lot of affection and interest in Mexico. We found a new kind of motel called Villas Arqueologicas, motels that were adjoining the major archeological sites. They had a library and a big educational component. What interested me was they were a joint venture between the Mexican government and Club Med, started with a World Bank loan.

LaBerge: Oh! [laughs]

Cheit: Club Med and the Mexican government were jointly operating these villas.

One day while we were there the staff was putting up flower pots and flags. They said a very important visitor was coming this afternoon. June and I came back to see who the important visitor was. A helicopter set down nearby and out popped Bob McNamara and Margie. [laughter]

He was president of the World Bank, and in his frenetic style, was running around to the locations of the bank's loans. He had a press conference with dozens of reporters. This was a big deal, there were maybe, I don't know, 100 or 150 people crowding around him. I called out to Margie. We talked, then McNamara gave a short speech on the economic future of Mexico, and they left.

Anyway, the villas eventually went bankrupt. It was a good concept but it didn't work in the market.

LaBerge: What city was the one you were--

Cheit: It was at Uxmal in Yucatan. Yes. I wrote a column about them, and I have saved it.¹

LaBerge: Oh, good.

Cheit: It was published in February, 1979. The idea of a joint venture between the Mexican government and Club Med just seemed to me so challenging. The Mexican government did run a chain of three-star hotels called El Presidente. Anyway, I got to this subject from Margie McNamara.

LaBerge: And women's colleges.

Cheit: Right.

¹See Appendix

Newspaper Columns

LaBerge: Well, tell me a little bit more about your columns. Were they in business sections or op-ed pages, or what?

Cheit: The business section. Here is how they started. *Cal Monthly* asked me if I would be interested in writing a piece on a business subject. I wrote something for them and they liked it, and got good responses. So they asked me to do it again. I wrote two or three pieces for the *Cal Monthly*. An associate editor of the *Examiner* saw them, called me and said, "You should be writing for me."

So I said, "Well, what do you want me to do?"

He said, "Write a column for us." So I started, and I used to do this once a month in the Sunday *Examiner* and they gave me up to 1000 words. The column was picked up from time-to-time by the *San Diego Union*, the *LA Times*, and for a while the *Sacramento Bee*. So I had a decent little readership up and down the state and I did this once a month.

LaBerge: On business issues?

Cheit: Yes, business and economic issues. I really enjoyed it and I learned about writing lean and spare prose, and I hope, about how to write a column. I used to get a good response, a lot of correspondence about it.

Then when I went on a long trip to Asia for the Asia Foundation--four weeks, and maybe a dozen countries--I told my various editors that I wasn't going to be able to write. The combination of the burden of the trip and the post trip report took me longer than I expected. I stopped writing. That was the story of the column. But I wrote that column for about seven years.

LaBerge: I remember that you used to write book reviews early on.

Cheit: Yes. I reviewed books for the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*. It wasn't the same pressure because they'd send me books and I could decide whether or not to review them, whereas a column, you always had to--

LaBerge: You had to produce.

Cheit: Yes, right.

Land Grant Institutions

LaBerge: Well, because we're going to the business school and you mentioned the *The Useful Arts and the Liberal Tradition*, maybe you could just talk about that book a little. I know we talked about it, but I don't think we have it on tape. The first meeting I remember you telling me that it was a "nifty book," and describing it a little. Maybe you could just talk a bit more about it, including the business school aspect.

Cheit: Sure. Well, I've always been interested in land grant colleges. The idea of the land grant college was a product of the Populist Era in the nineteenth century. By Act of Congress, land was set aside in the states. These states could then sell the land and use the money to get these colleges started. The University of California, of course, is one of these.

The idea of a land grant college was idealistic. It was for the sons and--and I might add--daughters of farmers and mechanics. And you know, many of the colleges are still called A&M.

I was a beneficiary of a land grant college. I went to the University of Minnesota, as did my wife, and the costs were about \$45 a term. I lived at home in the early part of my University of Minnesota years to save money. When I started doing work for the Carnegie Commission and writing about higher education, I became interested in the land grant colleges and how they have evolved to research universities and then how they introduced the useful arts.

As research universities evolved, they had to work their way through the tension between the useful arts and what was seen as the academic heart of universities, the liberal arts colleges. As a faculty member in a business school, I saw the tension between what I call in the book, useful and liberal. I became interested in the literature about the criticism of commerce and the fears that it might degrade the university. [Thorstein] Veblen wrote a wonderful essay about "captains of commerce," and I was intrigued by Alfred Whitehead's collection of essays about higher education--the name of which just popped out of my mind. But one of the essays in Whitehead's book--

LaBerge: *The Aims of Education and Other Essays*? (I have it written down from one of your other articles.)

Cheit: Yes, *Aims of Education*, yes.¹ One of the essays in that book is a defense of the Harvard Business School. When Harvard launched its business school, some people on the faculty were highly critical of introducing commerce at Harvard. So against that background, when the Carnegie Council invited me to join them, I wanted to start working on this, the tension

¹Alfred North Whitehead, *The Aims of Education and Other Essays* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929).

between useful and liberal. Clark [Kerr] encouraged me. I selected four fields--engineering, forestry, business, and agriculture. Clark wanted me to include architecture, but after I started to read about architecture, I decided I could not get my arms around it in the time. It intrigued me a lot, but--.

Business Education

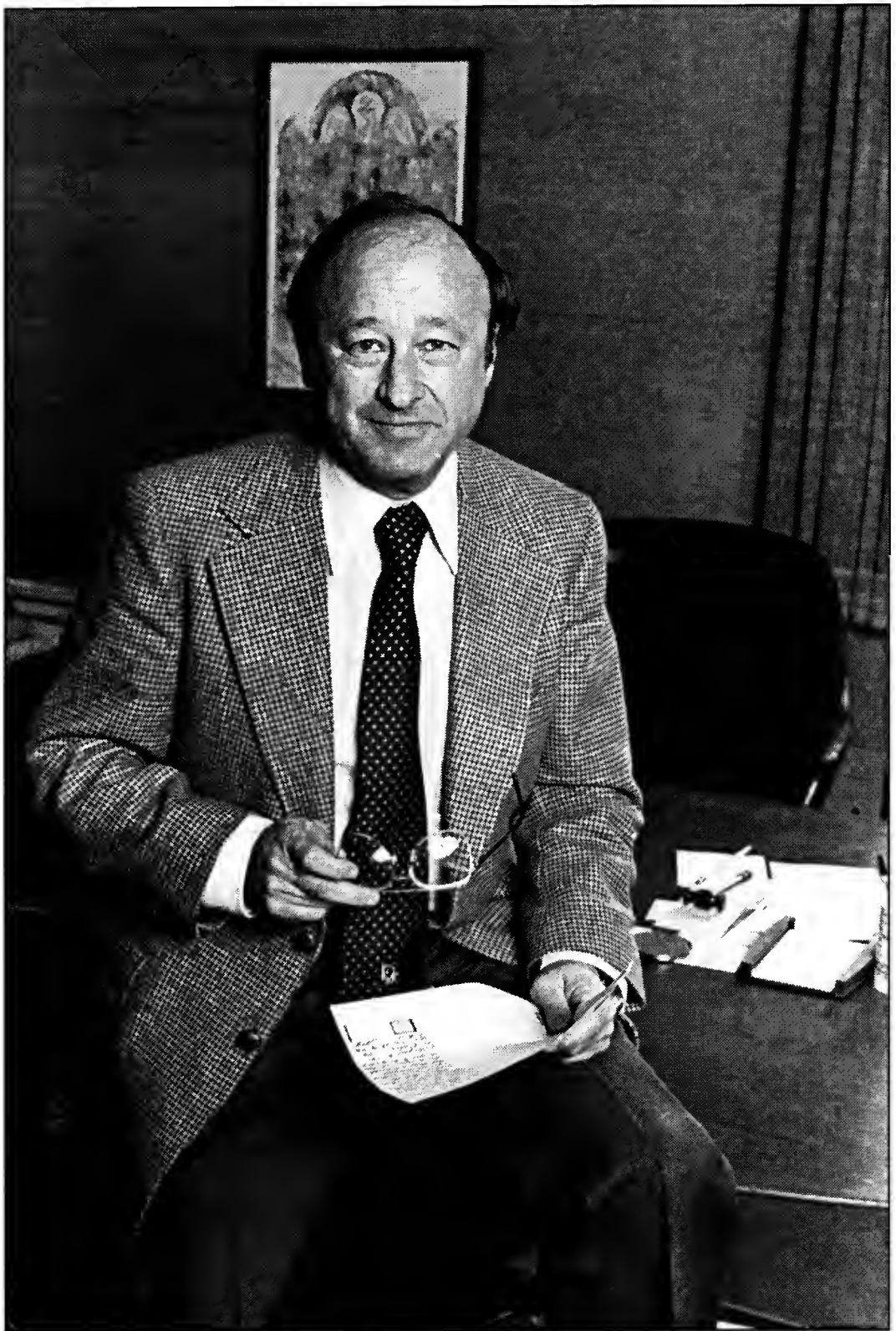
Cheit: You asked me to say something about the business part of it. Well, what I did was to show how these useful arts--in this case, commerce--came into the university when the big growth of business education occurred. Berkeley by the way, has the second oldest business school in the country--1898--and the first business school in a public university. Only Wharton [School at the University of Pennsylvania] is older than this business school. What I did was to look at the critics of the useful arts and how the tensions have evolved.

Well, I said to you early on that this is a nifty book, because as I mentioned, it grew out of a seminar that met at the location of the subject matter. We met in engineering, in agriculture, in forestry, and here [at the business school]. The students were enrolled in the School of Education here. It was highly instructive to analyze how these useful arts evolved to professions, into professional schools, and then how as professional schools they have worked to find their way in the university. So that's really what the essence of the book is.

I end the book by saying that professional schools can be helpful to universities in that they can offer undergraduates access to their special competence. I'm very pleased to say that that's now happening so, for example, the School of Public Policy here has undergraduate public policy work. Journalism has a limited amount of it. We do. That's the story of that book.

LaBerge: And it was written right before you became dean, or it came out--

Cheit: Yes, it was written before.



Earl Cheit, Dean, School of Business, 1976-1982, and Acting Dean, 1990-1991.

XI DEAN OF THE SCHOOLS OF BUSINESS, 1976-1982

Decision

LaBerge: But did it then influence you in what you did as dean?

Cheit: Somewhat. Although my views were already quite formed on this subject, but it did to some extent, yes.

LaBerge: You followed Richard Holton?

Cheit: Right.

LaBerge: What kind of orientation did you have, if any?

Cheit: Well, I had been an active faculty member in the school, so I felt I knew the school quite well. And I had a lot of admiration for Dick Holton and watched him and his predecessors. I'd seen Grether as dean, and Cowee as dean. And so I had a notion of what they did. But real training, no.

LaBerge: I mean, you just walked in and took over the office without any transition?

Cheit: Well, there wasn't any transition. There was continuity in that the people who were associate deans of the undergraduate school and the graduate school were still there.

LaBerge: Okay, and who were they?

Cheit: Well, let me think. It was probably Dow Votaw for the graduate school, and Bob Goshay for the undergraduate school.

Staff and Space at Barrows Hall ##

Cheit: The office staff had some very able women. In the undergraduate school, we had Ruth Nice, who retired some years ago. She had a powerful institutional memory and was an important source of continuity. I hired two assistants who moved into that office, one of whom is still here, Sara Wood--who was very helpful. I brought my secretary from the Carnegie Council. Her name was Barbara Jordan. I had a couple of people who worked for me before that who were not terribly successful in that job, so I hired Barbara Jordan. She learned the job with me.

LaBerge: Well, when you started, you were still in Barrows?

Cheit: Oh, yes. The business school had once been in South Hall and then it moved to Barrows. It's interesting that you mention Barrows because of the various priorities I had as dean, certainly the highest priority was to get started on getting adequate space. We had 55,000 square feet in Barrows, and our competitors had about 125,000, about two and a quarter times ours.

Harold Williams, Dean of UCLA Business School

LaBerge: And who did you consider your competitors?

Cheit: Well, I looked at Stanford and I looked at UCLA. They were both competitors but in a different sense. Stanford was a competitor for faculty and graduate students. I rarely competed with UCLA for faculty or graduate students, but I competed with them for money inside the university. The dean at UCLA was a man President [Jimmy] Carter had made head of the SEC [Securities and Exchange Commission], and then he left the Carter Administration and became dean. He was from Hunt Foods--Harold Williams. He later became a regent. I'd written a column about one of his ideas when he was head of the SEC. I'm going to digress here.

LaBerge: Oh, good. Well, this is a great digression.

Cheit: As head of the SEC he promoted the idea that corporations should split the job of CEO and chairman; that the chairman of the board ought not to be the CEO. In that way, the board's agenda would be controlled not by the CEO, but other directors, through the independent chairman, would have control of the agenda. It was another way of improving corporate governance.

He and I became good friends when he was dean and continued to see each other when he left to become head of the Getty [Trust]. He later invited me to become an advisor to one of

the Getty programs, and I did some work for them. His top priority was building a new home for the Getty. He did a brilliant job of running the Getty Trust.

I suppose his crowning achievement was getting the new Getty. June and I went to the black tie opening of the Getty when they invited their advisors and friends. My conclusion was that for \$2 billion, you can get a lot of building. It is spectacular.

LaBerge: Well, I had a note that the two of you had some meeting about establishing a real estate program and going to see the real estate commissioner.

Cheit: Oh, yes. The California Department of Real Estate had some money that it raised from real estate licenses. And I don't know how much it is. The money goes to the California Department of Real Estate for education purposes. They had accumulated some of this money and decided to create a chair for a California real estate professor.

LaBerge: Oh.

Cheit: A professorship. And when I became dean, there was friendly rivalry between UCLA and Berkeley about who was really going to get that chair. They gave money to Berkeley and we had a powerful real estate program going here and an extensive real estate program. And the question was, where would the chair be permanently located? And so we had a bit of tugging and hauling about that.

We went to Sacramento and pleaded our case. Skipping all the intermediate steps, the chair ended up here. And Ken Rosen is now our director. Ken Rosen, whom I hired from Princeton--that was one of my great hires--is now the California State Professor of Real Estate and Urban Economics. [tape break]

Separate Salary Scale for Professional Schools

LaBerge: We were talking about your relationship with Harold Williams at UCLA. I'm wondering, at other UC campuses, was there some kind of relationship between the business schools, or maybe there aren't any other business schools?

Cheit: There are other business schools, and there are relationships, but I had none as close as that with Harold Williams. He was an able dean, and a good business executive. He and I worked on what I regarded as one of the most important priorities here, getting professional school pay scale--separate pay scale for the business school. He was a very important ally on that.

LaBerge: We touched on that just a little bit, but we didn't go into detail and I would love to hear that. How you got it through the regents.

Cheit: Well, business school salaries began rising in the mid-seventies and rising much more rapidly than other academic or professional school salaries. On this campus, the only separate salary scale was the law school's. That separate salary scale had a long and unsavory history because it had been forced through the regents around the university administration. For a while, law was not part of the Academic Senate. By the time I became dean, things were changing. It's like the Clinton pardons--eventually people forget. The law school had a separate salary scale that enabled it to be competitive in the labor market. I was very eager to get a separate salary scale that would enable us to be competitive.

The University of California at Berkeley has a very egalitarian tradition, namely that a professor of English should be paid the same as a professor of physics, as a professor of accounting. So I saw myself as trying to educate the campus--and by the campus I meant the provost and the chancellor--about--

LaBerge: Who was Al Bowker?

Cheit: Yes. He supported the business school. Mainly I worked on the Budget Committee about fundamentally two things. One is the facts--just the facts of what we faced in the labor market. I was able to show that whereas the law school had a salary scale that permitted it to compete in the labor market, that the business school was about 20 to 25 percent below the market, and at one point almost 30 percent. Those were the facts. That was the first thing I wanted them to understand.

If Cal was trying to fill a position for an assistant professor of history and went head to head with Yale or head to head with Northwestern or Chicago or Stanford, our offer for an assistant professor of history would be about the same as theirs. But when we went head to head with those same institutions for an assistant professor of organizational behavior or finance, which was the most difficult to fill--finance and accounting--you'd be 25 to 30 percent below the market. Berkeley prides itself on getting its first choice most of the time, and we were facing an impossible situation. So that's one thing that I had to teach them, the facts.

The second thing I had to teach them was the difference between market and merit, because when people would ask me, "Are you saying that an assistant professor of accounting is worth more than a professor of history?" The answer is no. The market for them is different. Their merit is not different, or may or may not be different. But one must distinguish market and merit.

In all this I was helped by my associate dean. Over time three people served as my associate dean for academic affairs. The first was Larry Vance, a famous professor of accounting who was a champion orchid grower. He became ill and had to retire. Fred Morrissey succeeded him. He was professor of finance, also very able. He had once served on the State Public Utilities Commission. He was succeeded by David Alhadeff, an excellent economist. It was Morrissey, and especially Alhadeff, who worked with me the most on the separate salary scale.

You asked how did I do it. I was relentless.

LaBerge: [laughs] I wish the tape could record your face.

Cheit: I was relentless. I hope in a way that was not too disagreeable because I had to win advocates, but I met with the Budget Committee, and that's a big deal, you know, because deans aren't supposed to meet with the Budget Committee--only the provost and the chancellor. And we convinced them. I wrote countless memos and David Alhadeff wrote memos. When we'd lose a faculty member to another institution, I'd cite cases. And I worked on--

LaBerge: Cite cases of people you lost?

Cheit: Yes, and those we were unable to get.

LaBerge: Lost as a professor, okay.

Cheit: Harold Williams was an ally. But not as crucial an ally as he might have been--not because his heart wasn't in it, but because he was at UCLA and UCLA used to find ways to accommodate outside the formal scale. And then when Harold Williams went to the Getty Trust, his successor was also a very good ally. But UCLA was much more accommodating to its professional schools than was, or is, Berkeley.

Professional Schools in the University of California System

Cheit: Let me digress here. Let me digress again to professional schools in the university. When Franklin Murphy became chancellor at UCLA, he decided where he would make his mark. A chancellor only gets a few chips and he decided that he'd use his in building up UCLA's professional schools. He was a powerful chancellor--and in his oral history not terribly complimentary to Clark Kerr.

LaBerge: Right, I just recently read it.

Cheit: Murphy also made his mark with adding beauty to the campus. The sculpture he installed on the UCLA campus is really impressive. But what he mainly did was to build up professional schools. A new chancellor at UCLA looks at Berkeley and sees all these Nobelists, Berkeley's great record in physics and chemistry. He couldn't compete with them so he built up professional education. When I served as acting vice president of the system--which we'll come to later--I had access to data from all campuses. I checked the budgets of all the professional schools at UCLA, not just the business school. All the professional schools had better budgets than the professional schools at Berkeley. He really developed them.

LaBerge: With private funds?

Cheit: Well, a combination. But primarily with the state budget, his regular university budget. George Maslach was my provost and he understood the problem. Eventually we proposed a plan to the regents for a separate salary scale for business and engineering, at Berkeley and UCLA.

LaBerge: And only UCLA and Berkeley, not any other--Davis, or--

Cheit: Well, Davis was just getting started and Riverside wasn't started yet. Irvine had started but wasn't included. The amount of money involved was not huge from the university's standpoint, but it established an important principle. Anyway, a separate scale was adopted by the regents. We played by the rules. But when we went to the regents, my recollection is that there was absolutely no opposition. The major hurdles were getting it before the regents.

After I left the deanship, the new scale was in place and I was very proud of it. But it was eventually overtaken by events. My successors have had to do still more for separate salary arrangements, because business school salaries have risen so rapidly.

When Mac Moos--Malcolm Moos--was president of the University of Minnesota, he invited me to become dean there, to come back to my alma mater.

LaBerge: And was this during this time?

Cheit: It was during the time when I was dean here. I went back and looked to see whether you can go home again, and I decided I really couldn't. But the salary that he offered me was considerably higher than what I was making here as dean. I noted with great interest when the University of Minnesota recently hired the dean that they paid him more than the president was making. And Bob Berdahl, our current chancellor, told me that at Texas he hired a dean of business and paid him more than he was making as head of the university. Business school salaries have really skyrocketed. The principle is now established that if you want to have a good professional school of business, you need to have a special salary scale. Interestingly enough, the same salary pressures have not occurred in engineering. But the \$200,000 business school professor--for the outstanding producers--is now a fact of our life.

LaBerge: Well, in going to the regents, did you get permission, as opposed to permission plus the money?

Cheit: They gave us the money at that time, yes. I didn't go to the regents. It went up through the channels, but the regents' approval brought the funds with it.

LaBerge: Funds, too.

Cheit: That's not true, today. Laura Tyson gained authority to do certain augmentation of salaries, but the school had to raise the money. I don't know the details. I probably have consciously avoided them because [laughs] I'd be stunned if I knew them.

Objectives as Dean

LaBerge: Well, one of the things I read--and I cannot remember where I read it--was that you changed the shape of business education while you were dean.

Cheit: Well, somebody was being very generous.

LaBerge: Well, if that is so, how do you think you did that?

Cheit: Well, I hate to claim that. But let me talk a bit about what I tried to do. I have extensive files on all of this but I didn't have time to look at them.

LaBerge: Sometimes what's on the top of your head is--

Cheit: Well, it's maybe more interesting to a future reader. But what I did was I determined that my overall objective was to strengthen the business school as a professional school in the university. That required a placement center, our own placement center. It required our own building. It required a separate salary scale. It required much stronger ties to the alumni and the professional community. And it required that we put great emphasis on the quality of our teaching. I concluded that because research was outstanding here. The research records of the business school faculty was really outstanding because people were responding to the reward system. But we were more like an academic department of business than we were a the professional school of business. And I wanted to make the transition from academic department of business to professional school.

LaBerge: Okay.

Cheit: I worked on every one of these issues to try to strengthen--excuse me, to create a professional school of business. One of the first things I did was to meet with one of our most famous alums, Walter Haas, Sr., class of 1910, who was a friend. We were on very good terms because, as I think I mentioned earlier, he was interested in the school. He was a good friend of Grether's and he was chairman of the first advisory board of the business school--the first one that Grether created. He knew the absurd space situation we were in.

A Visit to Walter Haas, Sr., Walter Haas, Jr., and Peter Haas

Cheit: I don't know whether I--have I covered this story, my visit to Walter Haas?

LaBerge: No, I think you mentioned it. If you did, it's a paragraph. But you mentioned it when we started.

##

LaBerge: Tell me about the visit to Walter Haas, Sr.

Cheit: Right. It's a very poignant visit given a luncheon that I had yesterday [honoring Peter Haas].

I went to visit him--and he knew what the visit was about. And I should say that before I took the deanship, when Al Bowker offered me the deanship, I sought the advice of several people, including Walter Haas, Sr., and Jr. Both father and son I knew fairly well. I sought the advice of other people, but I was particularly interested in their advice. And both of them encouraged me to do it. And so I paid a visit to them as the new dean.

Their offices were in the Embarcadero, in those fairly new Embarcadero buildings. Walter Haas, Sr., the man after whom the school is named, was a wonderful man. He loved Cal, loved the business school, and the university. He often had a kind of mischievous grin, that sly way about him because he liked to make jokes, and had a terrific sense of propriety, of what was right. I had a great visit with him. And at the time Walter, Jr. and Peter were there, so the four of us met.

We talked about my being dean and what did I need. I said, "We need a new building." I made the point that I would tell everyone who would listen, namely, that we were the only professional school on the Berkeley campus without its own home. I didn't need to convince them that we needed a new building because they knew it, and so Walter, Sr. said, "Well, how much do you think it will cost?"

I had no idea, but I said, "Well, probably \$10 million."

And he said, "Oh, no. We couldn't do that now." But he said, "Let's keep talking about it, but in the meantime, what could you use to really get you going?"

So I said, well, there were two things that I wanted to do soon. I wanted, as part of creating a good professional school, to have our own placement service. Our students had to go to the general university placement service. There's a tremendous difference between that and what a professional school ought to do. I said I also wanted to start getting some endowed chairs.

Gift for Grether Chair and Placement Center

Cheit: He said, "Well, we'll give you a gift of \$300,00 now to get you started." I was extremely grateful. It's always tricky when you're raising money, on the one hand, to be grateful for what you get, but not forget the higher target that you are after. [laughs]

LaBerge: And had you done fundraising before?

Cheit: Had I done fundraising before?

LaBerge: I mean, you gave away funds. [laughs]

Cheit: No, I don't think I had.

LaBerge: So you were new at it.

Cheit: I was fairly new at it. So I was very grateful to them and I took that \$300,000 and did two things with it. I used \$150,000 to start the Grether Chair, because Grether deserved to be honored, and Walter Haas, Sr. admired Grether. They were good friends and I thought that was something that he would really relate to. And then secondly, I used \$150,000 to create a placement center in the bottom floor of Barrows Hall. It's kind of a basement. And I kept the discussion going on the Haas' role in eventually creating a new business school.

A moment ago I referred to a poignant moment. Yesterday I went to a luncheon at Levi Strauss. Forty people were invited to honor Peter.

LaBerge: Oh, I know he's not well because he's being interviewed by our office right now.

Cheit: Peter is now in a wheelchair. The last time I saw Peter was just a month or so ago. In fact, it was February 22 or 23 at the Berkeley Fellows, and at that time he was walking on two canes. But he was still walking. Now he's in a wheelchair. They had a luncheon yesterday to honor him, and they invited forty people who have been important in his philanthropy and his work. It was a very poignant gathering. Each of us had a little chance to talk to him privately. He and I went over projects we had worked on, including of course the business school. We also noted that his grandson-in-law is graduating this Sunday from this business school. He is hoping to come to the commencement. So at any rate, so much for the digression. [said with emotion]

We all wrote letters to Peter. I told him that in their gift for the school, which I'll come to later, how much I admired their filial piety. They, as trustees of the Elise and Walter Haas Fund--Peter, Walter, and Rhoda [Goldman], their sister--named the school for their father and nothing for themselves. When I asked Peter at one point during construction if he and Wally wanted something named for themselves, they said, "No. It's for our father." The Haases are an unbelievable family. If one were to search the world for a name for this business school, one wouldn't find a better name, a better symbol, a better family, or more idealistic a family whose leaders have been such models--both for the young and the old, I might add.

Well, maybe I should stay with the conversation. I don't know where you'd like this conversation to go now?

Building Needs Assessment by Fred Morrissey

LaBerge: Well, you just continue.

Cheit: Okay. Well, let me leave the new building--no, let me follow-up. I asked Fred Morrissey to chair a committee to identify and document our space needs. He went to other business schools and in the long process of getting a business school the Morrissey report was the first important document. It identified what our space was and how much space we needed. It was not pie in the sky space, but real--what a school of our size and the number of our programs really needed.

LaBerge: Did you have an idea of where it could be?

Cheit: No. I didn't. Later on in the discussion of the project, he and others suggested two different places. One was the eucalyptus grove where the Life Sciences Building expanded. And the other was--[laughs] there's a sweet irony here--at the corner of Fulton and Bancroft where the university owned land. Those were two possible sites. This site came up later.

And the reason I said sweet irony is that: after we got the site that you and I are now talking on, this site, officially approved, our opponents in the lawsuits they brought against us said, "Why not put it down on Fulton? The BART is near there and so on and so on." And at one time we would have gladly done that, but it was too late. Not too late out of pride; it was too late because all the machinery--all the environmental impact reports, all the exploratory planning, and earthquake work had been done up here.

So Fred Morrissey started that committee to document the details of our space needs. You asked about other things that I started. Let's talk about fundraising.

Beginning the Annual Campaign

Cheit: I started the annual campaign, because it was clear that the school needed discretionary money.

LaBerge: And there never had been before?

Cheit: There had not been an annual campaign. There had been gifts to the school. And you know, this school was started by a gift. Cora Jane Flood gave the original gift that financed the start of this business school. So we were founded by a private gift. But we didn't have an annual campaign. I invited a group of people to lunch, led by Clancy Houghton, an alum who at that time was head of the San Francisco office of Deloitte, Haskins & Sells, (now Deloitte and



Business alumni barbeque, 1990.

Photo by Bruce K. Cook

Touche), and one of his colleagues, Dennis Wu. He is also an alum, a man with great interest in the arts.

Clancy took us to the Bankers' Club in the Bank of America tower. There were two more people there, but I can't recall their names. We decided to start an annual campaign. What should the goal be for the first year? I was timid, you know, because I had never stuck a toe in these waters in any organized way. I said, "Twenty-five thousand dollars? Should that be it?" And Clancy said, "No, no, that's not enough. \$50,000." So our first campaign goal was \$50,000. He chaired the campaign, got it started and more than met the goal. And the campaign has been going every year now, and I think it's now over \$2.3 million.

Changing the Dues of the California Business Alumni

Cheit: That campaign involved my doing something quite disagreeable. I'm not sure if I've touched on this, but we had a very loyal alumni group here, and the alumni association used to raise money. They would raise modest sums for their own activities. They'd have conferences, and they did good things. It was a good alumni association. They charged annual dues and they used the dues money and occasional gifts primarily for their own activities. I immediately saw that this was going to put us in a head-on collision with them.

I used to meet regularly with the alumni board and I explained all this to them. But they were adamant that they were an independent alumni group. After I couldn't get this negotiated I acted peremptorily. I said that henceforth, the alumni association of the school, CBA it was called--California Business Alumni--would have no membership dues. Membership was free. The school would make an annual gift to the alumni association to support its activities, and that it would not fundraise in the school's name.

We had on our staff at that time a very able woman by the name of Ann White. Did you ever know her?

LaBerge: No.

Cheit: She worked with the alumni association and was our gifts officer to the extent that we had a gifts officer. But her main activities were with the CBA. I got her to go along with this, but several members of the CBA board were mad at me. They were really mad.

The other thing Ann White did was publish a newsletter called *CBA News*. CBA dues helped pay for it. And CBA contributed some part of Ann White's salary. To clear up all these arrangements, I said, "We'll pay all of her salary, we'll do all of the fundraising, and we'll provide your budget for your activities." We made a list of CBA activities and what they had spent and I gave them a raise. Then I had a meeting with the chairman and the key board members at the Faculty Club. Dennis Wu was there and another officer who could barely be

civil to me, he was so mad. But he came to lunch. His name was Peter Michael. We later became good friends.

At the lunch we exchanged pleasantries and talked about the school and our plans for the school, and then I said to them, "Now your budget for next year," I asked them to tell me how much money they needed. Peter said, "All right, I'll tell you what we need to do our programs," and he handed me an envelope. So I said, "You've got it." Took the envelope, put it in my pocket, never looked at it, and I said, "Okay, it's approved." I wanted him to not be further humiliated by going over it and saying, "Why do you need this?"

LaBerge: Why do you need ten dollars for this? Yes.

Cheit: So I said it's approved, and I just put it in my pocket, and that helped set a better tone. And later things worked out. It took a couple of years, though, for them to work out.

LaBerge: I mean, the amount wasn't--

Cheit: We could afford it, whatever it was. I can't remember--you know, maybe it was \$20,000, or \$25,000. I can't remember. Anyway, today the Haas Alumni Network is a large, thriving organization.

The Fund Council

Cheit: Then I did two things. One is we had an annual campaign, and then I created a group called the Fund Council because I wanted us to raise money not just from alumni, but from friends who aren't alumni. That Fund Council still exists, by the way.

[Interview 16: June 7, 2001] ##

LaBerge: The last time we ended, you were just starting to talk about setting up the Fund Council and having this relationship with the alumni and changing all of that. We did that, but why don't you tell me more about the Fund Council?

Cheit: As I may have mentioned earlier, the idea of the Fund Council was to create a group that would oversee and help with the annual campaign. I wanted not only alumni, but I wanted friends of the school because there are many people who donate to us or help us who are not alumni. Its membership has changed, obviously, over the years, but it's been very successful. And the theory of it is to have alumni and friends of the school and have this be a group independent of the alumni association.

LaBerge: Who were the first people on it?

Cheit: Well, Clancy Houghton and Dennis Wu, whom I have mentioned earlier.

LaBerge: Were they alumni?

Cheit: Yes.

LaBerge: Okay. What friends did you ask?

Cheit: Oh, boy. I can't remember their names. But there were people from companies who recruit our students and feel an attachment to the school.

LaBerge: How would you go about finding--letting people know about this?

Cheit: I talked to them. Called them and visited with them.

LaBerge: So the purpose of it was going to be for a new building?

Cheit: No. It was an annual campaign for the operation of the school. No money was raised through the Fund Council for capital.

Goals as Dean

LaBerge: Well, I think when we began on the business school, you said that one of your goals was to get a new building. What were some of the other goals?

Cheit: Overall, the overall goal was to strengthen the business school, both its substance and identity, as a professional school in the university. As part of that, I pushed to have our own placement center, to strengthen teaching, to promote excellence in teaching because professional schools particularly, in my view, carry a big burden for outstanding teaching; to strengthen our ties to the alumni and to the professional community--and these are all sub-goals. A key goal was to increase the size of the faculty. We were very badly undermanned at that time.

The building was crucial to all of these because at that point--we didn't have our own library, we didn't have our own computer facilities, we didn't have placement facilities, and we were located in about, oh, less than half, maybe a third of the amount of space that we really needed, and that business schools with which we compare ourselves operate.

So I was pushing all of these things. During the years I was dean, at the beginning of the year I'd issue a memo to all the faculty. I still have copies. It was called "Last Year's Progress and This Year's Initiatives," in which tables set out what we said we wanted to do, what we got done and what remained to be done.

It was a bit didactic, but it really focussed attention. I started every meeting, on a chalkboard, with FTE, because we were so badly understaffed. When I retired as dean the first time, the faculty gave me a chalkboard.

LaBerge: [laughs]

Cheit: It has written on it, "FTEs and Goals." I have that at home, in the hallway outside my study. It's a wonderful reminder of my relationship to the job and to the faculty.

Recruitment of Faculty

LaBerge: Since we're talking about that, why don't you tell me about recruiting faculty and how you went about it, what you were looking for.

Cheit: Well, faculty recruiting has changed a lot from when Grether, himself, would go to the annual social science meetings, particularly the American Economic Association, and would interview and hire people. As the school grew, the faculty groups did their own hiring. My job was to allocate positions and to try to shape what it is our groups were looking for.

In finance, for example, the chair of the finance group and some of his colleagues would go to the annual finance meetings. They would have a job description and would advertise. These meetings are partly professional meetings and partly job markets. They would interview people who were interested or who had been recommended. Sometimes we'd have two or three people at those meetings or maybe a half a dozen who would interview young applicants. These were almost always for entry-level, assistant professor positions.

They'd bring back the information, the department would meet, and they'd decide to invite out maybe two or three people to give papers, so students could hear and evaluate them, as well as the rest of the faculty. Then they would evaluate the candidates and tell me their choice.

My role was small, although sometimes when it came down to two candidates and they were talking about the merits, I would get involved. But mostly the faculty proposed, and I disposed.

LaBerge: What were the different groups, besides finance?

Cheit: Well, the groups in the school are organizational behavior and industrial relations; accounting, finance, economics and policy; business and public policy; marketing; international business; and there may have been an information sciences group at that time. There were about seven groups.

I'd get involved in hiring if I'd have to help recruit someone. For example, the accounting and finance group identified Baruch Lev, who has since left us. He's now at NYU [New York University]. He is an outstanding academic, who was dean of the business school in Tel Aviv. He had signaled his interest to rotate out of the deanship and come to the U.S. for a year's leave, and he had tentatively agreed to go to Stanford.

Our accounting and finance people said, "Get him. He's a Berkeley-type person." So I conducted a long distance courtship, many phone conversations. Skipping to the conclusion, he did come to Berkeley, and my colleagues were right: he was a perfect fit for us. He returned to Israel, but then came back for fifteen years or so, until NYU snatched him away from us just three years ago.

So that's one way I got involved. Ken Rosen is another example. The group in economics and real estate wanted him. He was at Princeton. Our faculty identified him as someone who had been delayed a year for tenure, and they thought he might be ripe for a move. So I went after him and got him. He's been here ever since and is a star in the school.

I also hired Janet Yellen. She reminded me of that the other day in a very pleasant meeting. Also Barry Staw in organizational behavior, and Steve Penman in accounting. Those are cases where I went to work to bring somebody here.

LaBerge: Did you fund it all through this Fund Council? Is that how you were able to get--

Cheit: No. Money that the Fund Council produced may have been used for travel, to bring people out. We would bring two or three people out to present papers so we could get a good look at them. Some of my amusing correspondence when I was dean concerned entertaining candidates. The university had rules--you know, \$3 for breakfast and \$4.75 for lunch or something like that. If you were really courting someone, you would take him to dinner at Chez Panisse, or Oliveto, a place like that.

I had the money, but I had to write letters saying that despite the rule this was a legitimate expense, and then I'd get my knuckles tapped.

LaBerge: Knuckles tapped by the chancellor?

Cheit: No, the provost or somebody in the provost's office. [Provost] George Maslach and I had a series of exchanges on that subject. The school used contributed funds, for entertainment but not for the positions. The positions came from our regular university budget.

LaBerge: Okay. Have you named all the stars?

Cheit: Probably not, but I shouldn't try to do that because by mistake I'll overlook someone. These were just some of the names that come to mind.

Relationship with the Chancellor and the Provost

LaBerge: What was the relationship between the dean and the chancellor? Did the chancellor give you the money for the new hires, or what happened?

Cheit: The provost gives you your budget. I was pushing the provost very hard. Fortunately, I had a very supportive chancellor, [Al] Bowker.

We had a good relationship. As an aside, I should note that he once told me he ran into a "Cheit policy." His secretary told him he had to travel tourist class because of a policy issued by a former executive vice chancellor. "I overruled you," he told me.

Bowker understood that to be an outstanding university, you need an outstanding business school. The reasons are both substantive about a well-rounded campus, and self-interest. Many of the people that they looked to in later years for contributions and help with public issues have come through the business school.

They even let me talk to the Budget Committee, which is like campaigning in the College of Cardinals. It was to make the case for more FTE. They really helped. If you looked at my gift chalkboard you'd see that the business school grew substantially during that period.

LaBerge: Do you remember the numbers?

Cheit: Well, from approximately--on recurring FTE, which means they're not temporary positions--from about sixty-five to eighty-five.

LaBerge: That's a lot.

Evening MBA Program

Cheit: Yes. It includes the evening MBA program. I did manage to get the San Francisco MBA program made permanent. It's a very good program. Dick Holton deserves the credit as being the pioneer in getting the idea launched. But as often happens, one dean has a good idea and a later dean is able to put it into effect. That was the case with the San Francisco MBA program. It's now called the evening MBA program, and it's now here in the school.

LaBerge: Where was it located in San Francisco?

Cheit: It was located in lousy rented quarters on Golden Gate Avenue. The quarters weren't horrible, but the neighborhood was really rough. We were always warned to leave nothing in our parked car.

LaBerge: Near Hastings [College of the Law]?

Cheit: Yes, just up a couple of blocks from Hastings. I think it was 333 Golden Gate Avenue. I used to teach there. I liked to teach in the San Francisco program because it had such outstanding students.

LaBerge: But it was the evening program.

Cheit: Yes. It was housed at three different locations. It was on Market Street for a while, near the Orpheum Theater. That's a marginal neighborhood also.

XII NEW BUILDING: WALTER A. HAAS SCHOOL OF BUSINESS

The Morrissey Report

LaBerge: Why don't we talk about how the building came about? Which I guess you also needed for all these new FTE.

Cheit: We needed it for all the goals. Well, as I mentioned, one of the first things I did on becoming dean was to create a committee that analyzed our building needs. I asked Fred Morrissey, a very valued colleague, professor of finance, my associate dean, to be chairman of a committee. He and the others really did a thorough job. For me, the Morrissey Report, on our space needs, became a sacred document. It was a very well put together document. It analyzed what business schools of our enrollment need, what other business schools had and what we had.

We had institutes scattered in different places, and we were the only professional school on campus that didn't have its own home.

LaBerge: For example, what institutes?

Cheit: The Institute of Business and Economic Research, IBER. I can't remember what its original location was. It eventually moved into the basement of Barrows Hall. The Institute of Industrial Relations, of course, was over on Channing Way. Ken Rosen's institute, the Center for Research in Real Estate, was off campus in rented space.

I used that Morrissey Report, partly to educate the faculty about the details of their own cramped circumstances. We had 55,000 square feet, and we needed 125,000, and more if we were going to have a library and computer center. Anyway, I used that report first to educate the faculty about the facts.

LaBerge: Do you mean the whole Academic Senate?

Early Fundraising

Cheit: First just our faculty. Then the provost and the chancellor. And then the alumni. And, as I think I've mentioned earlier, in an interview, I went to the Haases because Walter Haas, Sr., the man after whom the Haas School is now named, knew our situation because he remained a good friend of the school. He was an urbane and sophisticated business man. He got around and visited other business schools. He knew. So he didn't need convincing.

I think I have mentioned in a previous interview that I visited him and his two sons, Peter and Walter. His other child, Rhoda, was not present, but she was to become very important in this effort. I told them that we needed a new school. He said, oh, he agreed that we did, as did Wally and Peter. And he said, "How much would that be?" And I didn't—we hadn't worked anything out, and I said, "\$10 million." I just guessed. And he said, "Well, we haven't got that kind of money to give now, but I will give you something to help you get started as dean. We're so happy you're dean."

So that's when he gave me \$300,000. And I think I mentioned earlier, I used half of it to create the placement center, and I used the other half to start the Grether chair, thinking, in the case of Grether, that it was appropriate that he be honored that way, given that the development of the modern business school was really his achievement, his shaping of it. Moreover, I knew that Walter Haas, Sr., liked Grether. That's how I used the \$300,000, and they were very pleased with that use of it. But they said, "You know, let's keep the idea of the building alive."

Peter and Mimi have a foundation, as did Wally and Evie. But the Walter and Elise Foundation was the major one. The man who was the head of it gave us grants from time to time for various purposes. He was very understanding, and he said, "You know, some day this building will come about. Just keep the idea alive."

I also tried other avenues.

LaBerge: Do you want to say which they were?

Cheit: Well, one of them I tried—this jumps ahead a little bit here. I mentioned in 1976 I went on the board of directors of Shaklee Corporation. I've been on that board ever since. And it has gone through various phases in its corporate life. We created a division in Tokyo and in 1985 had an IPO, an initial public offering, the first one by an American company in Japan.

The shareholders received a substantial amount of money. At that time about 28 percent of the stock was held by the two Shaklee brothers, Lee (Raleigh) and Forrest. It was Lee I was working on, because Lee had more stock and had a campus connection. The company later was taken over in a friendly acquisition by a Japanese company, and Lee and his brother got what was then a huge amount of money. It wasn't huge by the standard set by the dot-com bubble, but it was in the range of \$80 million to \$90 million, something like that.

Lee is an alumnus, not of the business school, but he took business courses. I tried to persuade him that he ought to use some of that money for a new business school. He thought about it, but he declined. Several times, I tried to convince him. But I was unsuccessful.

So that was one of the other avenues. Shall I continue on the building?

LaBerge: Yes, yes.

Chancellor Search, 1980

Cheit: In 1980, Al Bowker retired. There was a search for chancellor, and my hat was in that ring. Shall I go into this?

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: Because it's related to the building, actually. My hat was in that ring.

LaBerge: How did your hat get in the ring?

Cheit: Well, it's interesting. I was asked if I was interested in being a candidate.

LaBerge: By?

Cheit: By a member of the regents' committee, Billy [William] Coblenz. And I said yes. I had a visit from some members of the search committee, and skipping a lot of intermediate steps, there were three finalists, Vartan Gregorian, Mike Heyman, and myself.

LaBerge: What a group! [laughs]

Cheit: And the regents' committee--and I never knew the exact dynamics here, but the regents' committee preferred Gregorian, and they offered him the job. He was then provost at the University of Pennsylvania. He turned down the Berkeley job in the belief that he was going to be offered the presidency of the University of Pennsylvania. As it turned out, he wasn't made president of the University of Pennsylvania, and he left in a bit of a huff.

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Cheit: He went to the New York Public Library, where he had a very successful term as librarian. He then went to become president of Brown University, where my son [Ross] is on the faculty and where I got to know him.

LaBerge: Did he hire your son?

Cheit: Not directly. He would have been involved the same way I hired people, at the end of a long process. So then the two final names, were Mike Heyman and myself. Mike at that point was vice chancellor, under Bowker, and I was dean of the business school, former executive vice chancellor in embattled times. One evening I got a call at home from the chairman of the regents' committee, saying that they decided to go with Mike Heyman. I said fine. June was enormously relieved. It had a brief play in the press. Anyway, they chose Mike Heyman.

LaBerge: Were you relieved, too, secretly?

Cheit: I had mixed feelings. I thought I could do a good job. Whether that was just misplaced ego or not, I don't know. But yes, part of me was relieved, but I think an honest answer is that I'd hoped that they'd give me a chance to turn it down. [laughter] Which I would not have done, I don't think. Anyway, I refocused my attention on my work at the business school. By this time, we had a separate salary scale, more FTE, the placement center. We had achieved all these goals. But not the building.

I wrote a memo, and had a follow-up meeting with Mike Heyman. I'm revealing a little secret here. It was a breakfast meeting in the Faculty Club. I told him that I wanted to lead a campaign for the business school building and that I wanted the university to commit to 25 percent of the cost. I'd raise the other 75 percent. And I said that, knowing that there was money in the capital budget. Dave Gardner later confirmed to me that there had been. Dave Saxon was president at this point.

LaBerge: You had not yet been vice president.

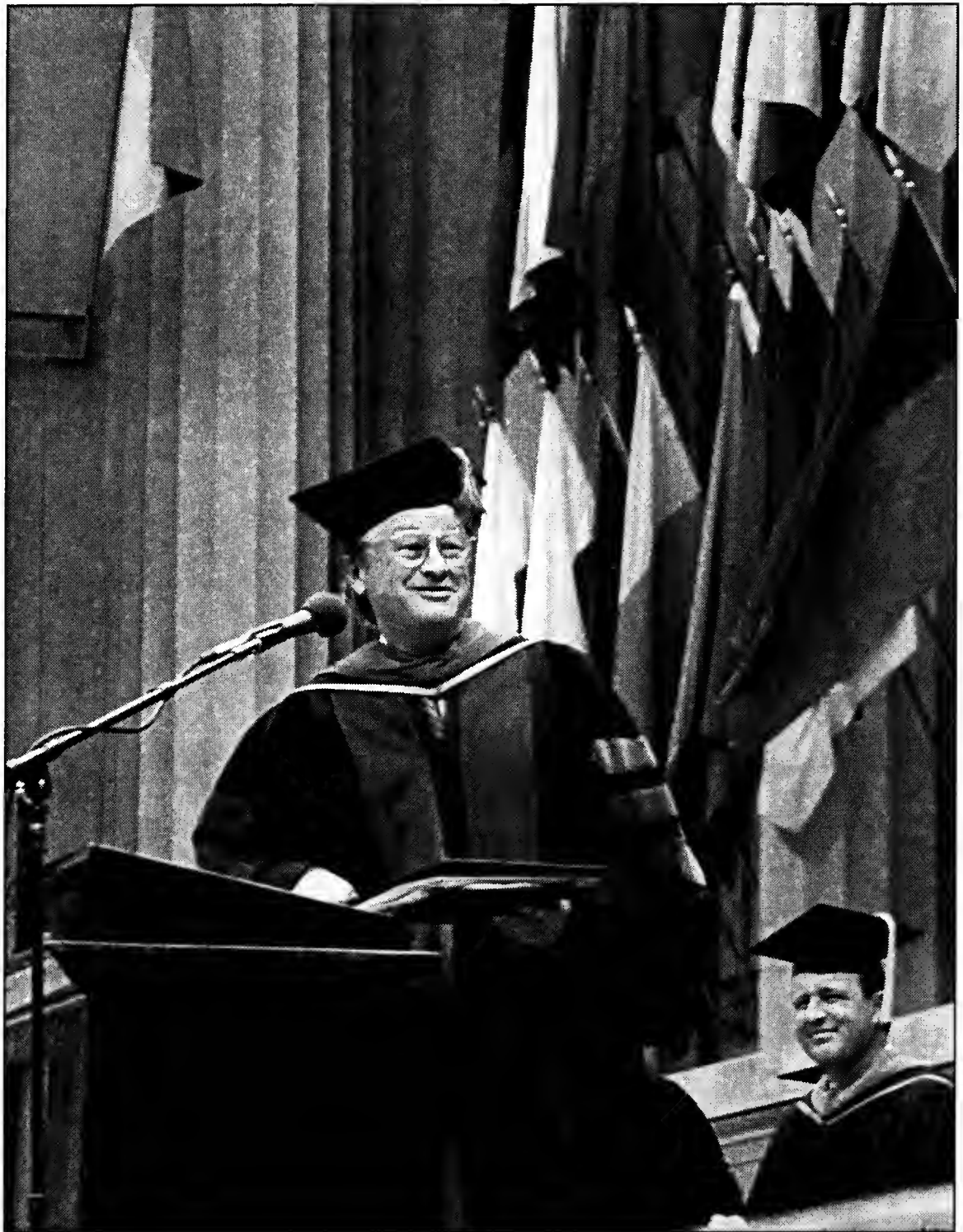
Cheit: No.

LaBerge: This was before that period. Okay.

Cheit: And that I knew that UCLA was planning a new business school with university funds, and I said I'll only take 25 percent. I had felt, fairly or unfairly--I think it's important to get this in the record--that Mike Heyman was of two minds about the business school; that is, that he thought it good to have a good one but that he wasn't going to make it one of his priorities. Later the university launched a capital campaign, in which Mike really put the arm on the Haases for money for biological sciences, which is where he put his top priority.

At times I felt that Mike was cool about the business school. I raised an endowed chair in finance. It was an endowed chair that honored a wonderful man, Sylvan Coleman, an alumnus who went on to become very successful in New York financial circles.

When the endowed chair came through, we had a party at University House, and Mike was chancellor. He made a speech, and in all candor, I thought his speech showed diffidence about the school. So I felt that I ought to have an agreement from him in writing that he would allocate from university funds, capital funds, one-fourth the cost of the business school [building]. We had a very friendly and candid discussion, and he said he couldn't do it.



Business School Commencement, 1982.

I then told him that I would be giving him notice. I would be retiring as dean and that I'd give him nine months. The formal notice would come later. That determined when I decided to stop being dean the first time. In fairness to Mike, I should add that when we did launch the building campaign, he was helpful. He did an excellent job on the health services and as chancellor generally.

I set 1982 as when I went out as dean, but then in 1981, in late '81 or maybe it's early '82, Dave Saxon then asked me to become vice president. I'll tell you about that later.

Successor Dean, Raymond Miles, 1982

Cheit: So now to continue with the building: I went, not in a huff, but feeling rebuffed. I was succeeded in the deanship, to my pleasure, by Ray Miles.

LaBerge: So when you retired, nothing was happening with the building.

Cheit: Nothing was happening with the building. There was the Morrissey Report, there were all of these forays and entreaties and so on that I had made. Ray Miles became dean, to my pleasure, a colleague I admired and admire today very much. Ray had an advisory board whose chairman was Steve White, an alumnus, now deceased, who was very loyal to the school and outraged that we didn't have a building and were not making progress.

Ray and Steve White and maybe one or two other people--I was not present--went to visit the chancellor. It's now Mike Heyman. Ray reported that in the meeting Steve White pounded on the table and persuaded Mike to give a reluctant okay. If the business school wanted to raise all the money, they could do it.

At that time there was no site. I think I mentioned in an earlier interview that as part of all these efforts growing out of the Morrissey committee, we identified various sites. One was in the eucalyptus grove, one was down at the corner of Bancroft and Fulton, and the other was the site where we now are, which in a very early campus plan had once been planned as a social science building.

Campus planners were interested in having a professional school quadrant: architecture, design, law, business--on this northeast part of the campus. But nothing had been decided. Ray didn't have a site but had, I think, Mike Heyman's reluctant agreement that he would try to get approval from the regents to have a business school campaign for a building if the business school raised the money.

Ray Miles launched a campaign.

LaBerge: Did Mr. Trefethen have anything to do with this?

Cheit: Yes. Gene Trefethen was active on the school's advisory board. He was always here. He became fully engaged in fundraising a bit later. I admired Ray, and I thought he was a fool. I've told him this since. He will admit that he was foolhardy, but he decided to take the risk. Had he not done so, we might not have a building today. He started a campaign. I was off doing other things. I had finished being vice president. I was doing work in Belgium, and so my mind was elsewhere, or at least part of my mind.

He started raising money. He got a million-dollar gift from Michael Milken, to help push things along. Michael Milken, whose infamy is well known because he pleaded guilty, although several of my finance colleagues thought he shouldn't have. By the way, I later met with Michael Milken, after I became acting dean later, and he said to me, "You know, we could have built this whole thing in a snap," because he had so much money.

Ray got that money from Michael Milken and raised some other important gifts, including a large gift from Wells Fargo. He had raised seven or eight million dollars. The project was moving along steadily. The regents had approved the business school plan, and in 1987, the project was made part of the university's "Keeping the Promise Campaign." Then in 1989 Gene Trefethen and I made a formal proposal to the Walter and Elise [Haas] Fund.

First Visit to Trustees of the Walter and Elise Haas Fund

Cheit: Leading up to that ask were a lot of individual discussions with Walter and Peter and Rhoda. I was very close to them because, and I think this is also revealing now for the first time, after I rotated out of being dean in 1982, sometime in '83, Rhoda Goldman, the late wife of Dick Goldman, approached me in her capacity as chairman of the board of the Walter and Elise Fund. She asked me if I would be interested in becoming the executive director of the Haas funds.

LaBerge: Wow.

Cheit: I met with Walter and Rhoda and Peter to discuss what this involved. I had subsequent individual meetings with them, and then I thought about it again. Did I want to leave the university? This was a full-time job, obviously. I thought about it very seriously--I had so much admiration for the Hasses and their views about philanthropy. June and I discussed it at some length. I decided, as I did with the Ford Foundation, that I didn't want to leave teaching, research and writing. But it wasn't easy to say no to them.

LaBerge: Oh, I bet. Did it include the Goldman Fund?

Cheit: No, just the Haas funds. We had the final meeting on this subject at Wally's house on Broadway, in San Francisco, with the three of them. I declined, saying, however, I hoped that this wouldn't affect the various things that I'd been talking to them about, especially the

business [school] building. They're such big people--Wally and Rhoda are gone now, but they understood. They chose excellent people who have been there for a long time now, and my own sense is they probably did better than they would have done had I said yes.

Using a memorandum that had been prepared by the woman who was our development director, Andrea Campos, and a model of the building that Ray had ordered, Gene Trefethen and I made a presentation to the trustees of the Walter and Elise [Haas] Fund.

It was a memorable meeting because there were three trustees: Walter, Peter and Rhoda. Walter, Sr., by the way, died shortly after we came back from China. He died in December 1979. We had had several discussions with Wally and Peter and Rhoda. They knew this was coming. Andrea Campos developed the proposal. Now we had something more definite, and we had estimates. The official cost we presented was \$40 million.

So typical of the Haases, they were thinking about the future, they brought the younger generation in. So also sitting in the room were Doug Goldman, Rhoda's son, and Wally J. and Bob Haas. Betsy was not in that meeting. Anyway, they had the younger generation there because one day they would be taking over, as they have.

We asked for \$20 million, half the estimated cost. It was a wonderful meeting, a long meeting. They thanked us. Shortly thereafter they called to say, "We'll give you \$15 million." That became the cornerstone gift. On the basis of that \$15 million, Ray--and I was just an ex-dean here--

LaBerge: Right.

Cheit: Ray went to the regents and got approval to name the school the Haas School of Business. To their credit, the Haas children didn't want anything named for themselves; it was for their father. It became the Walter A. Haas School. His class was 1910. Have you ever looked at that picture and the statement about him in the school?

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: It's a wonderful picture. I drafted the statement so I like it. [laughter] Now with this gift, Ray had a tiger by the tail. I don't know how much money he had raised, but he had this \$15 million commitment, and he really worked hard at getting the rest.

But then--it now becomes 1990, and Ray has given notice. He's served seven years, and he decided that he was going to rotate out of the deanship after seven years, as I had. But the campaign was moving slowly, partly because the site had not yet been approved. The delay was caused by indecision over the health service. To make matters worse, Mike Heyman was leaving and a new chancellor, Chang-Lin Tien was coming in. Wally, Peter and Rhoda had a tough meeting with Mike. He promised that the health service issue would be resolved and that the business school project would get back on track.

Acting Dean 1990-1991

LaBerge: You didn't have the site or plans or anything?

Cheit: No final decision had been made. In the meantime, Chang-Lin Tien had become chancellor, and Wally Haas came to see me, very unhappy, because he began to worry that there wasn't going to be a building. Nothing was happening. During this time, a search committee was looking for a new dean, and didn't finish its work. So the chairman of the faculty search committee paid a call on me one day. This was David Pyle. I'd had a similar visit by Nils Hakansson in 1975. This is now 1990 and David Pyle came to ask if I would be willing to serve as acting dean for a year. I went to see Chang-Lin, and said, "Look, I'll serve as acting dean, but if I'm going to be acting dean, we have got to get this building project going, and you've got to help." He said, "Okay. Yes." I created a group called Budd's Group, whose job it was to finish the campaign.

LaBerge: You took this on as a volunteer.

Cheit: Yes. Budd's Group met about every few weeks. In the meantime, I had hired a new development director, a woman by the name of Melissa Nidever, who's now head of development for engineering, a wonderful woman. She did all the staff work and the planning for the remainder of the campaign. The success of the campaign is due in no small measure to her skill.

True to his word, Chang-Lin called a meeting to settle the site question. It was a meeting to remember. At that point, the chancellor's office was in University Hall because California Hall was being retrofitted. There were about ten people in that meeting. I was there for the business school.

LaBerge: Who else was there?

Cheit: Oh, his staff. Dan Mote was there because he was head of development; the executive vice chancellor, the scientist, [John] Heilbron, who was strongly opposed to the project; some people who aren't working for the university anymore in campus planning and building. LeRoy Bean, who was head of that department. There were about ten people in that meeting.

I laid out the situation: we needed a clear decision to go forward, and to name the site; that this had to come to a head. And John Heilbron argued vigorously against it. He said the university campus would be stuck with a huge debt if it made this commitment. In the meantime, the \$40 million project budget had become \$50 million. It was about a two-hour meeting. Chang-Lin listened to all the arguments. The thing about Chang-Lin was that he could make decisions. He didn't waffle. He said, "Okay, I've heard all the points. Here's the decision. We're going ahead. We're going to support it, and the location is going to be up where Cowell [Hospital] is, and that's decided." Pow! The meeting was over.

Haases Give an Additional \$8.75 Million

Cheit: I went to work. Gene Trefethen and I requested another meeting with the Haas trustees. Budd's Group was meeting every few weeks, and we were raising money.

LaBerge: Who else was in Budd's Group?

Cheit: An all-star roster: Mike Chetkovich, Clancy Houghton, Steve Davenport, Leo Helzel, Gene Trefethen, Ted Saenger, Dick Holton, Ray Miles, Tom Tusher, Steve Herrick, Fred Balderston and Sam Yamada.

LaBerge: These are alums.

Cheit: Mostly, but not entirely. Melissa Nidever did the staff work. She was crucial to our success.

In response to our request to meet, the Haas trustees said, "Okay, you can come back to us, but not right away. Let's see more progress." There was progress. When we reported that, they said, "Okay, we'll see you." This was in the fall of '91. Bill Hasler had been appointed dean. Gene and I asked for \$10 million. Our main point was, "It's going to be a \$50 million building. You ought to have half." That was the rationale. "You gave fifteen; we think it would be appropriate to give another ten." We made a very good presentation, I thought, both Gene and I spoke. They asked many questions, then said, "Okay, we'll let you know."

That evening I got a call from Wally, who said, "Well, we decided on \$8.75 million." We promptly had a meeting of Budd's Group in the Faculty Club, with champagne. I called Chang-Lin, to say whatever else he was doing, drop it and come to a meeting of Budd's Group in the Faculty Club. And he came. We opened up the champagne, and I told him, "\$8.75 million." "YAY!" [motioning]

I have here a copy of the press release, the letter that Bill Hasler sent to the faculty.

Naming Classroom Wing after Earl F. Cheit

LaBerge: Is that a copy?

Cheit: You can have it, yes. And he says, "Good news. I have tremendous news to share. The Haas family, who made the cornerstone commitment for our campaign three years ago, has made a second magnificent gift of \$8.75 million to our building effort. This comes at a particularly important time, as we work to finish this campaign and begin the construction. The

Haases have asked that the classroom wing be named in honor of Budd Cheit, to recognize his 'devotion to the university, his service to the school, and to this project.' ” And then he says, "Budd's reaction was 'So many people have worked to make this dream come true that I feel this extraordinary honor reflects on all of them.' The gift will be announced today, and I am enclosing the press release."

So now that really put it close to the top.

LaBerge: Did the Haases tell you they were asking to name the--

Cheit: They called--Wally called me and said, "This gift is coming with one condition"--

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Cheit: It caught me totally by surprise, and I said to him, "Well, Wally"--after making all sort of humble statements, that I was really overwhelmed that they would want to name some part of the building for me. I said that if they wanted to name something for me it should be the classroom wing because I had put great emphasis on outstanding teaching; I had created the teaching award; the students had named it for me; on my retirement an endowment was set up for it. So I would like to be identified with the teaching part of this building. He said that will be the condition.

He drafted a phrase and read it to me. He asked, "Does it sound all right?" And somewhere--I don't have it with me today, but I have a copy of the foundation letter. It said they voted to give \$8.75 million but the gift comes with the provision that the classroom wing be named for me, and they say nice things about my work in the business school.

And so when that letter came, the chancellor consulted the faculty and consulted the Academic Senate, and whoever he consults on these matters. Then he submitted it to the regents. He told the regents that the recommendation was made with the concurrence of the faculty and the Academic Senate. The regents approved it. And so the regents approved my name for the classroom building long before there was a spadeful of earth turned.

We finished out the building. The building cost went up about 10 percent. The final tally, including furnishings, was about \$55 million.

Architect Charles Moore and Fred Balderston's Team

LaBerge: Tell me about the plans and Cowell Hospital and all of that.

Cheit: A group was appointed to choose an architect. Fred Balderston was the key person there. He deserves a huge amount of credit for the beauty of this building. Fred was chairman of a



Dedication of Cheit Hall, May 1995. L-R: Chang-Lin Tien, Walter Haas, Earl Cheit, June Cheit, William Hasler.

committee of faculty and others who translated the Morrissey Report and later data into a working plan. His group developed a program from which the architect would work.

Sam Davis--you probably know who he is--from architecture, was on the architectural committee. They interviewed architects, and they had the courage and the foresight to choose Charles Moore. He had been a Berkeley faculty member, and went on to become chairman of architecture, then he went to Yale. Now he was settled in Santa Barbara, head of Moore, Rubel, Yudell.

We are all indebted to the committee for choosing him. Then Fred and his group started working on the planning process with Rubel, one of the architects. And Charles Moore was scheming. At one time he had a stream running through the courtyard. Strawberry Creek was going to flow through here. Charles Moore said that for the roof it was the Awahnee that was his inspiration. He designed many California craftsman elements for the building.

Fred Balderston and his group spent many hours. It included students, faculty, staff. They analyzed how everyone who would work in the building would spend their time, what sort of space would they need. This work produced a plan. The design was done by Charles Moore and his colleagues. People loved the design as they saw it. But we never got the stream flowing through the courtyard. Some things had to be sacrificed.

Controversy over the Cowell Hospital Site

Cheit: Now to the Cowell site. The people who ran Cowell were our biggest supporters for this project because Cowell was outdated, and had a seismic problem. It was built as a hospital, and the university was no longer operating a hospital. The woman who was the director was Cathy Tassan. I greatly admired her. She was very clear about what was best for the health service and how our interests coincided.

So the people at the health service very much wanted us to have the site. We worked with them to get another site. Chang-Lin assigned them the Bancroft site, and they promptly started their campaign. All of these elements had to work together. The Tang family came through with that health service gift.

There was opposition to the business school building from several groups in Berkeley, including, as a matter of fact, some of your colleagues.

None of the arguments against the business school building withstood scrutiny. It was alleged that there was an earthquake fault here, on some old map. So we dug a trench, at the cost of \$75,000. There was no earthquake fault on the site. They argued that the water pressure up this hill wouldn't be adequate if there was a fire. Tests proved that the water pressure was fine. They obtained landmark status for Cowell because that's where the

disability project first started. The irony there is, by the way, that June gave the first gift to have the oral history of the CIL [Center for Independent Living] done. She gave a gift to get that oral history started in memory of her sister who was a paraplegic.

We said we would recognize the disability movement, and we did. There's a very handsome plaque set in a special stone we brought to the site. Have you ever seen it?

LaBerge: No, I haven't seen that.

Cheit: I'll take you down there. Then it was argued that there would be too much traffic. But traffic studies refuted that. Then there were some people, not many, who said why should there be a business school at all. They look down their nose at business, very similar to the attitude I wrote about in *The Useful Arts and the Liberal Tradition*--Commerce in the University.

The opponents hired a San Francisco lawyer, Roger Beers, who among lawyers and consultants, was known as the guy you hired when you wanted to stop something. He brought a suit under CEQA--the California Environmental Quality Act, and we were in court several times. We won every time.

One court skirmish involved a fraternity house, a brick building partly on the site that had to come down. The opponents got a last-minute restraining order to prevent its demolition. It was not an injunction; it was a temporary restraining order. They went before the judge at four o'clock on Friday afternoon. Normally you give service in advance to opposing counsel. That was not done, so we never had a chance to appear or make an argument. That delayed the whole project two or three weeks, until there could be a hearing.

At the hearing, the judge threw out the temporary restraining order. We had someone in the courtroom with a cell phone, who called here. We had a truck with a bulldozer on it a block away. The signal went to the truck, and within an hour the bulldozer started to clear the site.

LaBerge: Were you in the courtroom at the time?

Cheit: No, I was not. The credit goes to two people. First, Steven A. Drown, the university counsel who handled our legal proceedings, who should get credit. He was an excellent advocate. The other person who deserves credit is LeRoy Bean. He was the man with the cell phone. We also had outside counsel, and spent a great deal of money on this.

And so did our opponents. They sent out a flyer asking for contributions to the fund because their expensive San Francisco lawyer had cost them and they were now \$65,000 in debt.

Sylvia McLaughlin was very active in this.

LaBerge: In getting it built?

Cheit: No, in opposing it. Fred Balderston and I had breakfast at Sylvia's house with her group, to make the case why the new building was a good idea. We didn't persuade them.

They remained adamantly opposed. But when I went over with Melissa Nidever the invitation list for the opening celebration, I put Sylvia McLaughlin's name on it. And she came. And I told her, "Aren't you pleased now, pleased with the result?" She sort of allowed that she was.

So Cowell was torn down. The university made us pay for that. Then the building started and was finished, and in May 1995 we moved in. And behind you--oh, here on the shelf [goes to shelf] are the hard hats that we gave out ceremonially. An alumnus of ours makes hard hats.

LaBerge: You're kidding.

Cheit: And you see this, this drawing? The fellow who draws Farley for the *Chronicle*? He drew a couple of these. Phil Frank. My colleagues gave me one when I retired the second time. Our alumnus, who makes hard hats, wrote me a letter saying, "I'm in the hard hat business, and we make a lot of ceremonial hard hats. If you'd like me to, I'd be glad to contribute some to the cause."

So we took that Phil Frank drawing and he put it here on the hats.

LaBerge: What's the name of the man who donated the hard hats?

Cheit: Jed Bullard. He has the E.D. Bullard Company in Cynthiana, Kentucky. He was an alum of ours. He also made a contribution to the building, and he contributed many hard hats.

Naming Opportunities and the Dedication of the Building

LaBerge: What about the other namings in the building?

Cheit: As you know, we named many things. That's the only way we could raise the money. We had one little dust-up about the BankAmerica Forum because Joe Tussman, a dear friend, now emeritus philosophy professor, was chairman of an Academic Senate committee, and he said that no part of a building should be named for a corporation. It made the press for a few days, but the reality was if we were going to have this school with money raised privately, we had to do it that way.

Many things are named, as you know, including this office. More than 2,000 people contributed to this project. It's the first project totally built with private money. Not a nickel

of State of California money went into this building, not a nickel. And, indeed, we subsidized the university by tearing down Cowell.

The dedication was festive, joyful, inspiring.

LaBerge: Tell me about the dedication.

Cheit: Well, it was a very special day. We invited all the donors, and we invited the community. It was a full day. It began with speeches. Chang-Lin and Bill Hasler, and Rhoda Goldman spoke for the Haases. They were out in the center part of the courtyard here. I don't know how many people were here, but it was about 2,000 easily. The place was jammed!

And then they had a special dedication of Cheit Hall. The people moved over to Cheit Hall, right over there [looking out window]. Chang-Lin made a speech, a very nice speech, in which he noted something you asked me about earlier, that I'd had more jobs than anybody in the history of the campus.

Then Bill Hasler said some nice things, and they read from the Haas letter, how this happened, and they gave me a ceremonial key to the Haas School. I made a speech about the values represented by this gift. High among them was filial piety, a value not so much in evidence anymore.

We had a whole day here of tours, demonstrations of the computer facility, the library, and then there were some dedications of individual rooms: Dow Votaw, a colleague, now retired, had a conference room named for him. There was a ceremony in his conference room. It was a fine, festive day.

Opening the Bids

Cheit: Now we were officially in the new Haas school. The building has been an enormous success. I had gone to the bid opening. It's very instructive because all the contractors who bid attend as do many of the subs [subcontractors]. When the winning bid is announced, each of the other contractors look at it to see how much the subs bid on the winning bid, compared to what they bid on mine.

I went to the opening of the bids.

LaBerge: Where was it?

Cheit: Down on Carleton, where the university had its campus building and planning department. There were about fifty people in the room. Two women who were assistants in that department opened up the bids and read them. The low bid for construction was a little over

\$39 million. We had the very good fortune to go out to bid when the building market was in the doldrums.

But the \$39 million low bid was a great stroke of luck. I took pictures at the bid opening. It was an emotional scene. If we were going out to bid on that project today, it would be easily double that or more. Today the total cost of \$55 million looks like a bargain.

The building has been a delight. Clark Kerr told me one day that he thinks this is the best building on any campus of all nine campuses of the University of California. And the architectural reviews, including that by the *New York Times* architectural critic were highly laudatory.

And that's the story of the building.



Earl Cheit is honored by business school alumni on his retirement as dean, 1982.

Photo by Bruce K. Cook

XIII DEANSHIP CONTINUED AND ACTING VICE PRESIDENT

[Interview 17: June 14, 2001] ##

Enrollment, Admissions, and Affirmative Action

LaBerge: We were going to finish up with the first time you were dean of the business school. We didn't talk about admissions, either undergrad or grad admissions, and affirmative action, if that comes into play.

Cheit: All right. A business school dean here faces the reality that there are very tight limits on enrollment. I was dean, as I may have mentioned earlier, of the schools, plural--schools of business. We have an upper division undergraduate school, an MBA program, an evening MBA program, and a Ph.D. program, as well as many joint degree programs, with the law school, public health, public policy.

The undergraduate school is an upper-division school--and it only had about 450 students, when I was dean. I think it is slightly larger now. And we had about 450 MBA students, which is small for an MBA program. The evening MBA program was limited to about 400 head count, which meant less than 200 FTE. And we had a limit of 75 Ph.D. candidates in residence.

Our undergraduate school numbers could be doubled overnight. The pressure to get in the undergraduate school is enormous. The same is true of the MBA program. But our enrollment quotas, given to us by the university, are tightly controlled.

LaBerge: By the Berkeley campus?

Cheit: By the Berkeley campus, yes. There were many admission problems, especially disappointed parents and students who couldn't get in. One of my jobs was to respond to people who said, "Why isn't 4.0 good enough to get in?" I don't know whether I mentioned this earlier, but I had what I believed to be the perfect response. I would say to angry parents, "I know exactly how you feel. Two of my own children were turned down by the university when they applied to law school. So I know exactly how you feel." Then I'd go on to explain the numbers.

I sometimes felt we should just set a threshold and then choose randomly from the qualified pool. But that's not considered responsible. So we did the best we could. We had good admissions officers.

As for affirmative action, the business school, at the MBA level, did a reasonably good job. We've always had a black MBA association, and indeed at one time the national black MBA association gave an award to the school, but we never publicized it because we felt there was so much more that ought to be done.

In the case of the MBA program, to me it was always a mystery why the market didn't work better. A black MBA coming out of Berkeley commands a wonderful array of job opportunities, and you would think that would attract more people. People who do research and write about MBA programs have long been interested in the question of why MBA programs haven't attracted more black students. There's a variety of answers, but the reality is not a very large number apply.

LaBerge: *Bakke*¹ happened, I guess, right when you were--'76, so I guess '78 was the U.S. Supreme Court. Did that have any effect?

Cheit: No, I don't think so.

LaBerge: Who wrote your standards, and how did that work?

Cheit: *Bakke* did not have an impact on us. We had an admissions process, in which people are rated on certain qualities: the GMAT, the Graduate Management Aptitude Test; their undergraduate--I'm talking now about the MBA program--their undergraduate grades; where they went to school, because not all undergraduate programs are equally demanding; and then their work experience (we require at least two years of work experience); and their recommendations.

And then a grading point system is applied to all of this. We extended ourselves to try to get minority representation in the MBA program and never had a problem with the campus administration.

Defense of Undergraduate Schools of Business

Cheit: In the undergraduate school, there is a quota on transfers from community colleges and on applicants from the Berkeley campus. I believe it was about one-third from community colleges and the rest from the Berkeley campus.

¹*Bakke v. Regents of the University of California*, 18 Cal. 3d 34 (1976); 438 U.S. 265 (1978)

The pressures to get in the undergraduate school are enormous. It's a very good curriculum. The notion that undergraduate business is a kind of trade school curriculum is a totally out-of-date notion here. It's a notion that was spread widely as a result of the study I told you about: the Gordon-Howell report that appeared in 1959. Even then it didn't apply to Berkeley.

Look at what our students actually have to do to get into the undergraduate school. They have to be literate in mathematics, they have breadth requirements in humanities and social science. In some ways our demands are greater than they are in most of the majors in the liberal arts.

Once in the school, the amount of specialization required is small. A student can take as little as one-fourth of his upper-division units in the business school. If a student wants to take courses in other departments, we allow and even encourage it.

Anyway, it's a very good curriculum. I should just digress here, if I may.

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: There was a move to eliminate undergraduate schools of business. It's a move that actually started after those foundation reports in 1959, and it grew. UCLA did it, in an interesting way. What UCLA did was to wipe out their undergraduate school of business and to offer business courses. So a student can patch together an undergraduate major in business, but the campus didn't have a business school. Stanford doesn't have one. Among the faculty here, it was perceived that if we wiped out the undergraduate school, we would have more resources to devote to the MBA and the Ph.D. program.

Among some alumni and others in the business community, it's often observed that the school loses prestige by offering undergraduate business. I regard those arguments as probably true but not controlling.

When I became dean, I resisted the pressure to eliminate the undergraduate school. I made it one of my causes. Either because of what I did or in spite of it, we still have the undergraduate school today. Indeed, I once appeared before the regents on this subject. I made several arguments, a key one being that we're a land grant institution. That's how the University of California at Berkeley started. The aspiration of the land grant college movement was to take sons and daughters of farmers and mechanics, kids of modest means, parents with modest occupations, and offer them a chance to get a college education.

I told the regents that at our commencement for the undergraduate school, you see many first-generation Americans. You see these fathers tugging at their shirt collar, very unaccustomed to wearing a tie. It's just a wonderful sight. We are living up to ideals of the founders of this place.

So we should eliminate that in the name of prestige? That argument seemed to me perverse. Not only does the school live up to our ideals, but it serves a real need. And we do it well. If we were doing a crummy job, I might have a different view.

We had debates in the faculty. Quite a few of the faculty were grumpy at me about this. I think it came to an advisory vote. By a small margin, the faculty stayed with it.

LaBerge: This would be just your faculty or the whole Academic Senate?

Cheit: Just our faculty. Anyway, we got into this subject because of admissions.

I keep an eye on the undergraduate school now, and it is doing very good things. It attracts bright students. There was a hoary cliché that the undergraduate school of business was the dumping ground for students who couldn't get into economics or other curricula. The reality, I discovered during the seventies, is that we were getting the most highly qualified undergraduates. I won't say the other majors were dumping grounds, but they were getting the people we didn't accept.

There's an integrated social science major now, the Political Economy of Industrialized Societies. It serves students who wanted to get in the business school and couldn't, and it serves an important need. We have tried to be good citizens. We introduced a minor.

LaBerge: I didn't know that.

Cheit: So a student can be an English major and minor in business. And we always opened our classes, whenever we had space, to non-business students. For years I taught in the undergraduate school—I taught a class called "Social and Political Environment of Business." About 15 to 20 percent of my students were from other parts of the campus.

LaBerge: You taught when you were dean too, didn't you?

Cheit: Yes. You do that after a while with a certain concern that you're living off of capital, that you aren't really refreshing your course in a deep sense, the way a real teacher must. But I did, yes.

LaBerge: You must have refreshed your course, because isn't that when you won the Earl F. Cheit Award?

Cheit: That's right. I may have had enough capital going. I was very pleased when the students voted me the Earl F. Cheit Award.

Affirmative Action in Faculty Appointments

LaBerge: What about affirmative action--I don't know if that's what we should call it--in faculty appointments, namely, minority and women appointments?

Cheit: Well, that's a difficult subject for the business school. We've never been involved in any official investigation, but I always felt that we weren't doing as well as we should. When you look into the problem, the same answers appear. Mainly it is a pipeline problem. Who's coming out of the Ph.D. pipeline? How many black Ph.D.s are there? How many Hispanic Ph.D.s are there? Or women?

We've done a bit better with women. There are more women in all fields. But it's been slow going. I once had an MBA student do a study of women on the Berkeley faculty. I discovered what activist feminists on the campus had known, that is if you go back early in the university's history, the twenties, there were more women faculty here as a percent of the total faculty than there were in the seventies and eighties--a half century later.

After all, we have a Women's Faculty Club. Women faculty lived there. And there were some great names--I've mentioned Emily Huntington, there was Barbara Armstrong at the law school. They were big names on the campus. So the campus actually slipped. The business school did not do well. I'm pleased to say now not only is Laura Tyson our dean, but we've got some very able young women on this faculty.

Women's Center Board

LaBerge: Since we're on that subject--this is a little ahead of that, but you were on the Women's Center Board? How did that come about?

Cheit: Well, it came about largely because Margaret Wilkerson, who was head of the center then, was trying to get credibility for it. She was creating a board of people who might have the ability to get things done around the university, so I agreed to go on that board. I've always been interested in women and the education of women. I think I mentioned I was on the Chatham College board for ten years, and that Mills College just voted me lifetime trustee.

At that time the center was trying to define its mission, what a women's center ought to do. It started as being a resource center, and then it encouraged scholarship on this campus into what is today called women's studies. So it was really the beginnings.

I did it because I liked the cause and I liked the people. I admire Margaret Wilkerson. She's on leave right now at the Ford Foundation. But, as I think I did mention early in these interviews, I had the pleasure of recruiting her for the Mills board. And when I was chairman

of Cal Performances, she was on the Cal Performances board. She is an extremely able person.

Joint Programs

LaBerge: I jotted this down, but you tell me if you want to talk about it: the Center for Research and Management? Did you institute that?

Cheit: No, I did not. It was always a very lively place. I think I mentioned I made the leaders of the Center for Research and Management unhappy because I moved them out of their quarters in order to create the placement center, when I got that money from Walter Haas. But it's had good leadership.

LaBerge: How about the MBA--is it MPA, the joint degree with the School of Public Health? Did you have something to do with it?

Cheit: Yes, it was launched while I was dean and I supported it. There was one faculty member who really took the lead. Jim Carman, professor of marketing, now also emeritus. We were encouraged by Gene Trefethen,¹ who was, of course, on the Kaiser Permanente board. Gene, as I hope the readers of this will know, was president of Kaiser Industries and took a great interest in the health plan because the leadership really came from Edgar [Kaiser], whose picture we see behind us here on the wall.

Gene knew that the need for skilled administrators in the health field was enormous and would grow. Over the years, that program has waxed and waned. But it's functioning well now.

One problem that we had in the MBA program is that so many other parts of the campus wanted joint programs with us. While, on the one hand, that's flattering and a way of providing a service to the broader campus, there's a risk when you have so few students. You see, we only had 450 students in the MBA program. Stanford had 750. Harvard has about 1,700 in its program. But we're a small MBA program.

And so if some of your MBA is joint with law and some is joint with public policy and some is joint with public health, who are your core students? While that wasn't a big concern, it was something that we thought about. So we limited the number of students who could take these joint programs, even though they were good programs.

¹See Eugene E. Trefethen, Jr., "History of the Kaiser Permanente Medical Care Program," an oral history conducted in 1985 by Malca Chall, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1986.



Retired Kaiser Industries President Eugene E. Trefethen, Jr., and Business School Dean Emeritus Earl F. Cheit, 1989.

Learning Partnership with Kaiser Aluminum

LaBerge: Any other innovations like that, or have we talked about them all?

Cheit: Well, we didn't talk about our learning partnership with Kaiser Aluminum.

LaBerge: No, and you mentioned that last week, so let's talk about that.

Cheit: It was Ray Miles' idea. It surfaced while I was dean. I certainly encouraged it. At that time the CEO of Kaiser Aluminum was Cornell Maier, a great Cal booster, a good friend of the business school and a successful business executive, who, by the way, now in retirement volunteers his time at Children's Hospital in Oakland, holding crack babies, babies who require human contact.

Anyway, Ray came up with the idea of our having a "learning partnership" between the business school and Kaiser Aluminum. For our part, Kaiser Aluminum opened up its processes to our students, and by its processes I mean all the way up to the board of directors. Two of our students sat in directors meetings.

Students participated in their management meetings. In their course work, students had structured assignments and follow-up to what they learned. Students were given real issues that the company was considering, such as opening up a new plant. They were given the job of assessing that move. They were given a whole series of significant projects.

For its part, Kaiser executives came over here, sat in classes, talked to students, and visited the business school. We carried out the partnership for two years, and it was exhilarating, and exhausting. The students were just absolutely exhilarated by this opportunity. But then, after two years, everybody else was kind of worn out.

Later the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business presented us with an award for the most innovative business education program. It was a fitting award. It's hanging somewhere on the walls of this building. I would say that was a major innovation. As I've emphasized, Ray Miles really deserves the credit for it.

LaBerge: Since then has there been something like that with other--

Cheit: The answer is yes and no, but more no than yes. We lined up some other companies. We had a modified version of the learning partnership for several years, but no other company would ever open up so totally as Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical did. I think that we just didn't have the kind of energy to push our way in, and so the thing sort of petered out. So yes, there were follow-ups--

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Cheit: --but it was a soufflé we couldn't bring up a second and third and fourth time.

Business Ethics

Haas Competition

LaBerge: What about business ethics? Did you introduce courses in that?

Cheit: Yes, we did several things. The two most important were the Haas Competition and an ethics course. With some grant money from the Walter and Evelyn [Haas] Fund, we launched a program called the Haas Competition. When it started, it was both a written and an oral competition. Eventually it became just an oral competition.

The idea was to model it after moot court, to be a presentation that might be to a government group or a legislative hearing or shareholders or a business professional meeting. It was on a topic that we specified. The presentations were judged, and eventually the last of three finalists would make their presentation in Levi Strauss's auditorium. It was big--two or three hundred people would come. And then we'd have it judged by business and political people from the community.

The topics always involved an issue of ethics or a policy issue that had strong social impact. Typical examples would be: moving work overseas, where labor standards and pay aren't as good as they are here; environmental issues. That program started during the time I was dean, and the grant used to be renewed. Walter Haas always came to it. He really enjoyed seeing the students in action.

I should also note that our course work in business environment--both undergraduate and MBA--dealt with the social role of corporations. The school has a long tradition, now being revitalized, of teaching and writing about the social responsibility of business.

This reminds me of a short story about a university official, Owsley (Bod) Hammond, the former treasurer.

LaBerge: Tell it.

Cheit: One assignment I used to give students concerned socially responsible investing. They would study portfolios, and policies of investment managers. One group of students decided to look at the university's portfolio and interview the treasurer, Bod Hammond, a legendary figure in

University Hall, now retired. They couldn't get an appointment, so I intervened and asked Bod to see them. At the next class meeting, they were grinning. In response to their questions about his investment policies, and whether he followed guidelines for socially responsible investing, he told them: "You tell Professor Cheit I have one basic guideline. I invest the money so that when he retires, there will be money to pay his pension."

Class and Lecture

Cheit: We also used some of the grant money to create a course in ethics. We created a joint course with the law school. David Vogel, my colleague who has done the most work in this field, taught the course jointly with Bob Cole from the law school. It was on ethics in business and law, and it was open to MBAs and law students.

Our colleague Ed Epstein, who left us to become the dean at St. Mary's, also taught in this field. So yes, ethics has always been a subject of attention in the business school.

For some years I was on the committee that administers a grant that one of our alums gave the university, called the Lectureship on the Morals of Trade.

LaBerge: Who was the alum?

Cheit: It's a very well-known department store chain headquartered in Sacramento, Weinstock's.

I should just add there have been some excellent lectures in that series. It brought [Saudi Oil Minister] Sheik Yamani here during the OPEC [Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries] crisis--or shortly after. He talked about oil, both the politics and economics of oil prices. There have been some interesting lectures.

Colloquiums

LaBerge: In that same vein, were you host to dignitaries while you were dean?

Cheit: Yes. Many business people came here. They like to have access to students. They like to be in the classroom, so we've had, yes, quite a few. One of the things I tried to do when I was dean was to engage the broader campus in some of the intellectual issues involving business, in various ramifications of business.

A retired businessman I hired part time, Richard Haber, used to run a colloquium series to which we would invite the campus. He did some innovative and interesting things. One was

on the business of sport, and we had the then-owner of the San Francisco Giants, Bob Lurie, among others on the panel. The colloquium also dealt with antitrust issues. We would offer it maybe once every six weeks or once every two months. We would put invitations in the mailboxes--pre-e-mail--all around campus, as a service to the campus. [silence]

LaBerge: I'm letting you think, in case something else comes. No? Okay. Well, when you left as dean, how do you think the business school had changed from the time you started?

Cheit: Well, we had momentum moving toward the objective that I set, namely, becoming a real professional school in the university. We had a larger faculty. We had the evening MBA program now, officially approved by the university. We had our own placement center. We had a plan for a new building. And so just as I think the business school today is a livelier place than it was when I was dean, I think it was a livelier place when I was dean than it had been before. [laughter] So it was evolving in a very good direction.

Relationship with UC Extension

LaBerge: What about UC Extension? What kind of relationship did you have?

Cheit: Very good, although there were points of friction. Extension was led during the time I was active by two outstanding people, a man by the name of Mort Gordon, who coincidentally played piano in our Dixieland band. He was succeeded by Milt[on] Stern. Both very able people.

They made much of their revenue from business courses. We had to sign off on the courses for credit or a credit equivalent. Points of tension developed when Extension expanded into management education and started to compete with our own executive program. For a while we did it jointly, but that never really worked out, and now it's totally separated. But the points of friction were small compared to the points of cooperation.

Museum Management Institute

Cheit: And, if I may digress here again, Milton Stern got me involved in the Museum Management Institute, because his wife, Ginny, who had been assistant director of a museum in Detroit, was always struck by the lack of management training for museum officials, particularly directors but to some extent curators. Milt Stern--I cite this as an example of our good relationship--he really pushed for some meetings on this subject.

There was a big meeting in Atlanta at the new High Museum, of people interested in museums and museum management. We attended and out of that meeting came a decision to create something called the Museum Management Institute, MMI, and Extension was very much involved, as was the business school. I was involved, and I got some of my colleagues involved. A grant from the Getty Trust enabled MMI to take off. For some years, I was on the committee that shaped the curriculum for the Museum Management Institute, and I taught in it. It runs on the Berkeley campus, and it still does, in the summer. It meets in the Faculty Club.

LaBerge: Is that when you wrote the book, you wrote an article in the book?¹

Cheit: Yes. Well, I wrote a piece. We produced some of our own curriculum materials, and I wrote jointly with the vice president of the Hirschhorn [Museum].

When we first started that program, it would admit about thirty to forty people. These were primarily directors or associate directors of museums and then some key curators who might themselves become directors. The word "marketing" made them uneasy. Talk about an innocent time. Today museums are among the most aggressive marketers.

We shaped a curriculum that's also evolved, a very good curriculum, for these museum directors. Today around the country, many of the directors of leading museums came out of this program. Extension and Milt Stern had a lot to do with it.

Acting Vice President of the University, 1981-1982

LaBerge: Should we, since you did this when you were dean, talk about how you became acting vice president at the same time?

Cheit: Yes. I became acting vice president for what was then called Business and Financial Affairs. The man who was vice president, Baldwin Lamson, had a heart attack. He took leave and then he retired. Dave [David] Saxon was the president, and [William] Bill Fretter was executive vice president of the university at that time.

I got a call one day from Dave, asking if I'd come down to University Hall to talk to the two of them.

LaBerge: Had you known him already?

¹Earl F. Cheit and Stephen Weil, "The Well-Managed Museum," in *Rethinking the Museum and Other Meditations* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).

Cheit: Dave Saxon? Yes, I knew him because he had been at UCLA. We didn't have a working relationship, but we knew each other. I knew Bill Fretter well. He was a physicist here, a chairman, a dean of the college before he became executive vice president.

They asked if I would be willing to be acting vice president, even on a part-time basis, to keep things moving during the search to find a permanent person. I thought about it a while. I was curious about the systemwide administration. It was to be a short time. I thought, "It sounds interesting. Why not?" So I agreed to do it, and I sent a memo to the faculty--I have it here [looks through papers].

LaBerge: You were answering a higher call?

Cheit: No, that I'm going to be acting vice president, and it was two-thirds time and one-third time in the business school, while the search went on. I hoped they'd finish the search within six months, nine months at the most, and I said to the faculty while I regret that this is going to impose burdens on some people, I think they can handle it. And so I did.

LaBerge: How did that work in with your resigning the deanship? Had you already decided to leave?

Cheit: Well, I think I was on the way. I'd either had that fateful meeting with Mike Heyman--I have to go back and look at my calendar exactly--but they were close in time. And I think it may have preceded it, I'm not sure.

LaBerge: I wondered, too, did you have to get permission from him?

Cheit: No. I didn't. It may be that they [Office of the President] called, but I did not.

My office was on the fourth floor, corner office at University Hall. It was an eye-opener as to how things work there.

LaBerge: I wonder, because you spoke before about how it was an eye-opener to become part of the administration after being a professor. All of a sudden, you saw it differently.

Cheit: Right. Well, the Office of the President, as it's now called, was huge, a bit smaller than it is today but still a very big operation. I had more than two hundred people on my staff. I ended up being there almost eighteen months. I never met most of them, although we had a few parties and other large gatherings. I was in a theater recently, and someone came up and said, "Hello, I was on your staff when you were acting vice president." [laughter]

I had some competent people as assistants. A woman by the name of Joan Rogin--do you know Joan Rogin?

LaBerge: No.

Cheit: Joan Rogin is now retired. After I got to know her I realized she should have been the vice president. She's smart, able, and has a sharp wit. She was one of two or three key people that I leaned on. They essentially kept me afloat. I learned about going to regents' meetings. I learned that at the board meeting, when there's a question for a vice president, ideally there should be a one-sentence answer that ends the discussion; or can be a one-paragraph answer that just opens up a can of worms. Then you're on the hot seat for a half hour. I learned that the hard way.

LaBerge: Do you have an instance?

Cheit: Yes. We were once asking for the regents to allocate money to support faculty housing. The question was what the interest rate would be, how much it would be subsidized. The staff had worked out a very sensible plan, and I presented it. Regent Ed Carter, whom I knew well, and who was a key regent, asked me a question about why this shouldn't be a market rate. I gave a professorial answer about the equity--equity in the sense of justice, not equity in the sense of markets.

It seemed to infuriate him, and it opened up a discussion that lasted twenty minutes. I suspect it made me look stupid. But it taught me: learn the one-sentence answer that closes off discussion. It was not a good scene. Not bad, but just stylishly poor.

Two or three thoughts I had coming out of that experience. One is there were a lot of good people at University Hall, a lot of good people who are anonymous. They're not public figures, but I came to admire and like them. For example, the man who was the comptroller of the university, on my staff, now deceased. His name was Joe Pastrone, a dedicated man, very competent.

At that time the regents met nine times a year. Now they meet six. The rhythm of the work was that you would spend at least two weeks getting ready for a regents' meeting, then half a week would be the meeting. When the meeting was over, you'd spend a week recovering, doing the follow-ups and your other work. Then you got ready for the next regents' meeting. That cycle was brutal.

I'm sure if you were a regent, you were thinking, "What the hell do they do all day? All they do is they come to these meetings." But just getting ready was a big job.

I learned you can get some things done. Right now, every campus or every unit in the university that borrows money, borrows it from something called the STIP, S-T-I-P, the Short Term Investment Pool. Before I was acting vice president, campuses borrowed money and they paid it back, but there wasn't a system for assessing interest. The STIP charges market rates.

Joe Pastrone and some of his colleagues developed the STIP. That was one of, quote, "my," quote, big achievements. It was like the Kaiser Aluminum learning partnership. It happened while I was there, and I helped push it through, but other people had the idea and

prepared the way. The other big issue I worked on was re-negotiating the overhead rates on government research contracts. Amid conflicting views about the best course to take, we held to the same rate.

By coincidence, yesterday I was in a meeting of the UC Press Finance Committee, and we were talking, among other things, about how much money we're borrowing from the STIP! And how much interest we're paying. I always smile inwardly. [laughter]

So what did I learn at University Hall? There are good people; it's a brutal process, the regents' meeting; and it's an enormous bureaucracy. One always had the feeling that it could be smaller, could be leaner and less bureaucratic, but I hesitate to give you specifics.

LaBerge: Did you have a chance to, oh, compare or assess different presidents, different styles of management?

Cheit: Well, there were different styles, but I only saw David Saxon's style from the inside. By the way, I just saw David the other day. He was here for Clark Kerr's ninetieth birthday, and he's still sharp and vigorous. Bill Fretter is gone. He had Alzheimer's and died several years ago. I thought Saxon was effective, and did a good job.

Replacement: Senior Vice President Ron Brady

LaBerge: What about finding your replacement?

Cheit: Well, I was not on the search committee. Thank goodness, because that's also very time consuming. They found somebody who came with controversy, and left with controversy.

LaBerge: And this was Ron Brady.

Cheit: Right, yes.

LaBerge: Do you want to comment on that?

Cheit: Well, I was so glad when they got somebody--[laughter]

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LaBerge: We were just talking about Ron Brady, and you were so happy that they found somebody.

Cheit: He came from the University of Illinois. People there sent us some clippings about his controversies there. We had letters saying, "You're making a mistake" or at least the university is making a mistake. But I was so relieved to hand the office over to a successor.

I left that office, and then finished as dean, and took a leave for a while, perhaps six months, and just divorced myself from those issues. But then, as you know, there was an unhappy end for Brady. Various benefits were put in for the officers of the university, for the president, himself, including generous severance benefits.

I think these benefits were put into effect with the regents' committee that handled compensation. It wasn't something that they slipped through in the middle of the night. But it wasn't done in a way that had full board knowledge and support. So when it became public, people were surprised and humiliated. He left under a cloud. He hadn't violated any laws, but his style just wasn't very good.

Many of my old staff felt beaten up by this whole process.

University Consulting Job of Interest to Regent Carter

LaBerge: What's the story about your doing consulting for Ed Carter?

Cheit: Ed Carter was chief executive of Carter Hawley Hale. He was convinced that the university was paying too much for workmen's compensation insurance through the State Compensation Fund. He thought that the university could self-insure. In his business he was self-insuring, as many employers do. And so he put pressure on the president. This was before Saxon, I think. This was--[pause]

LaBerge: [Charles] Hitch?

Cheit: Well, it may have been the Hitch administration. A man who worked in University Hall, Gordon Tyndall, knew that I had done a lot of work on workers' compensation. He asked me if I would analyze the university's experience and give him my judgment as to whether I thought the university could save money if it self-insured.

So I did a study. What I found was that the university could save money but at the time it wasn't administratively equipped to do so. It takes a certain amount of internal administrative competence to self-insure. So I said yes, the university could save money but I didn't think it was organized to do it right now.

They sent me to L.A. to meet with Ed Carter, to go over my report in person and give him a chance to quiz me. I liked him. He was a tough, interesting business executive, great lover of art and particularly the famous Dutch Masters. He bequeathed his collection to UCLA. So I knew Ed Carter from that encounter.

LaBerge: You must have had other consulting jobs that will pop up if you think of them, please stick them in.

Cheit: All right.

Honorary Degree from St. Mary's College

LaBerge: How about some of the things that were occurring while you were dean, like the St. Mary's College honorary degree? How did that come about?

Cheit: There's an interesting little story there. When I published *The New Depression in Higher Education*, which was 1971, it really hit home at St. Mary's. I did the follow-up two years later. The head of St. Mary's at that time was Brother Mel Anderson, a visionary leader. I had met him at a conference, and got to know him better because his key vice president, a man by the name of White, was enrolled in the graduate education program--[moves away from microphone] Will the microphone pick me up over here?

LaBerge: I think so.

Cheit: [looks for dissertation] He was studying financing higher education. He and I became good friends and we talked a lot about financing higher education. Raymond Joseph White. Here's his dissertation.

He earned the Ph.D. in 1981. His dissertation is entitled "The Effects of Internal Goals and External Pressures on the Development of a Catholic Liberal Arts College." It's a very good dissertation. I've kept a note he sent me in 1981: "Dear Dean Cheit, For your seven years of help and understanding. Thanks." It took him a long time to do it.

So I got to know Brother Mel. He invited me to come out to St. Mary's, and we talked about St. Mary's finances. They had not gone co-ed yet. I told him I thought if things continued the way they were going, St. Mary's would be in serious trouble. He knew that, but he appreciated my looking at the college's finances. I gave him a rather dire prediction if they didn't do a lot to change things.

He then asked if I would meet with his faculty. He called the faculty together and invited me back to the campus. We met in a classroom. He introduced me, and left--so that people would speak freely. There were maybe fifty, sixty people. I knew only a few of them. I talked about the *New Depression* study. I talked about it in the large, and how it affected them. We focussed on financing liberal arts colleges, about the kind of pressures they were under and what was likely to happen.

Either because of what I did or in spite of it, Brother Mel started to introduce some changes, which I'm sure he had thought of anyway. I may have helped facilitate the changes a little bit. He was grateful to me, and so we became good friends. When I won the Academic

Senate's Distinguished Teaching Award in 1989, St. Mary's College sent me an official certificate of admiration.

Anyway, one day in 1985 Brother Mel called and asked would I be the commencement speaker. I said, "Of course." At commencement, they gave me my honorary degree. It's my only honorary degree, and I value it. I wear the St. Mary's hood from time to time.

It's funny: we occasionally shop at Andronico's (then called Park and Shop) in Berkeley, the grocery store.

LaBerge: On Solano [Avenue]?

Cheit: Yes, on Solano. You know, Andronico himself used to work there. He was once checking me out, and he said, "Hey, you talked at commencement at St. Mary's. One of my kids was there."

LaBerge: Was one of your recommendations that they should go co-ed?

Cheit: No. I didn't tell them what to do. I just told them the implications of the forces now in motion, and they were fairly dire.

LaBerge: They seem to be doing well now.

Cheit: They're doing very well. The funds they get from the Christian Brothers are relatively modest.

Evaluation of Overseas MBA for the University of Utah

LaBerge: Do we have time to talk about the University of Utah evaluation?

Cheit: Yes. We do. That also fits under the category of other consulting jobs. I had gotten to know David Gardner when he worked at the Alumni Association here on the Berkeley campus, and then when he was vice chancellor at Santa Barbara. He then went to University of Utah as president. I had seen him in various meetings and conferences.

He called me one day from Utah and asked me if I'd come talk to him and some of his colleagues about evaluating a program that they were running in Europe. In Salt Lake City I learned that the Department of Defense runs education programs for American soldiers, sailors and airmen stationed abroad, in certain locations. The Defense Department puts proposals out to bid, and universities bid on them.

The University of Utah had bid on offering an MBA program to NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] troops in Europe. David Gardner, an astute executive, said, "This has

never been evaluated. We make money off of it, and faculty members like to go over and teach over there, but how good is it? Is it a program that we ought to be proud of? Are we doing a good job? And what effect is it having on our own business school here? Are we getting benefit from it beside whatever money we make?"

He asked if I'd like to go over and take a look. So I went as a consultant to the University of Utah. I visited several NATO bases: two in Germany and one in England. These were for airmen. Needless to say, it was quite interesting. This was at the height of the Cold War--I can't remember the year. [looks at document] Yes, 1977. There was a serious Cold War going on at the time. This was an evening MBA. I visited the classrooms. What you had in these classrooms was quite eye-opening. About half the people were in uniform--these were airmen, and they're in their gear. Their helmets are on the floor next to them. The others are on their day off or they're not on flight duty. Their planes had engines running, warming up, because if the Russians attacked [snaps fingers], they had to respond in minutes.

While their planes were warming up on the runway, they're in a classroom. This one place--I'll never forget--in Ramstein Air Base in Germany. They were studying a Coors Beer case. It's an intriguing case. As a marketing gimmick Coors Beer said you could only buy it in certain areas because it had to be fresh and refrigerated. They were studying the marketing strategy. If a signal went off--pssht--that meant the Russians were doing a bad thing to us, and they'd jump into their planes and do a bad thing to the Russians.

That was the classroom setting. I visited classes. I looked at the course outlines, the books they assigned, what tests they gave. I did what an accrediting visit would do. I looked at examinations. They had old exams on file and I looked at how they graded them, and I did this in Germany and in England.

When I returned, I wrote a report that said, "It's a terrific program." I said that it may have been a better MBA than they were offering in Salt Lake City! Some of their best people wanted to live in Germany for a couple of years. They were well paid. My report said that the university was doing a good service for the country. But I encouraged them to ask the question, what was it doing to their MBA program in Utah? The costs might well be greater than the benefits.

They thanked me, and a year later when the contract ran out, they didn't bid again. They decided that it did have too big an impact. My report induced them to look at how good their own program was and they found that they were they bleeding it. So they did not rebid.

That was my NATO experience with the University of Utah.

LaBerge: Did Haas Business School ever bid?

Cheit: Not that I know of, not while I was in the bidding position.

Real Estate Research Center

[Interview 18: June 28, 2001] ##

LaBerge: The last time, we finished talking about your consulting for the University of Utah. We were going to finish up with your deanship, and we talked a little about the Real Estate Research Center, so if you'd like to talk about that.

Cheit: Well, just a bit. The center today is famous and very well led. It does some outstanding work. We have several faculty members who are nationally famous in finance, real estate finance and real estate markets.

When I became dean, several faculty members asked me to take a look at what was then the Center for Research in Real Estate. It had a solid history here. A man by the name of Paul Wendt had led it, and had done some excellent research. But he retired to a second career at the University of Georgia.

Several faculty members told me that they were concerned about the work of the center. I appointed a committee. Sherm [Sherman] Maisel was its chairman. He is very famous, now emeritus. You may recall he was a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve under [President] Lyndon [B.] Johnson--he tells a wonderful story about that, I'll come to at another time. The committee told me that the Real Estate Research Center was doing mainly service work for the profession and that it wasn't doing the kind of research that a university center should be doing.

I agreed and I closed it, temporarily. One of our faculty members, Wally Smith, was the director then. He went back to full-time teaching. The center was closed until it was revitalized when new people like Ken Rosen and others joined the faculty.

LaBerge: While you were still dean?

Cheit: Yes. I think I mentioned earlier: I hired Ken Rosen from Princeton. But Wally Smith--we had been good friends, colleagues--was unhappy with that decision. It permanently changed our relationship. He's been grumpy at me ever since, and I think "grumpy" understates it. But in retrospect, although it ruffled feelings and cost me a friendship, it clearly was the right thing to do. The report that Sherm Maisel and others gave me was correct. Now the Real Estate Center here really does outstanding work.

LaBerge: What kind of research? Can you give me an example?

Cheit: They study real estate markets, and real estate finance. They have a very significant research series. They analyze new financial instruments, like securitizing mortgages. They conduct a very big annual conference, a forecasting conference about where's the economy going and

what does that mean for real estate markets. Their main focus is real estate finance and the relationship of real estate to the macro-economy.

They do a lot on housing, financing housing, for middle- and low-income people. It's a very broad research program.

LaBerge: Anything else?

Cheit: No. I'm pleased with the way the center functions. That was just an episode.

Professor Sherman Maisel

Cheit: I mentioned Sherman Maisel. Sherman Maisel, now emeritus, is an outstanding macro-economist who taught here for many years. [President] Lyndon Johnson appointed him to the Federal Reserve Board, where he served with distinction. He tells this wonderful story. There were three Democrats on the West Coast (they wanted a West Coast Democrat) who were being considered, and he knew he was one of them. He had been told, and the FBI did a background check on him.

One day he got a call to come to Washington. And he thought this was for more interviews. He was asked to come to the White House. He was brought into the Oval Office, and introduced to the president. "Dr. Maisel, this is President Johnson." Lyndon Johnson said, "Pleased to meet you, Dr. Maisel." (It was the first time they'd met.) And he said, "Come with me."

So Lyndon took him by the arm, as he would do, and then they walked out into the Rose Garden, and there was the press assembled, and Johnson said, "I'd like to introduce our newest member of the Federal Reserve Board, Dr. Maisel." That's when he realized that he was on the Federal Reserve Board!

LaBerge: He'd never said yes. [laughs]

Cheit: I guess when you go into the Oval Office, you have said yes.

I admired Sherm Maisel for his scholarship and his good fellowship. He was a great colleague. He did something that I especially admired. When he left to go to Washington, he resigned from the faculty rather than apply for an extended leave of absence. He had an interim appointment, filling out someone else's unexpired term, which was four years. He didn't know if he would be reappointed, and he wasn't.

I remember this faculty meeting so vividly because he said that he realized that faculty positions are scarce, and that even though he might succeed if he applied for a leave, that it

would inconvenience the school or [there would] be a succession of visitors. So he said he was going to offer his resignation, but that if he was not reappointed he hoped to come back.

It's the only time I've ever seen anybody do that. You know, most people, myself included, have taken leaves. When I went to the Ford Foundation, or when Glenn Seaborg went to the Atomic Energy Commission or when C.M. Li went to the Chinese University of Hong Kong--we all took leaves.

When Sherm's term was over and he wanted to come back, I remember that faculty meeting because there were some Young Turks here saying, "Well, who is Sherm Maisel?" We had a real showdown in the faculty, in which the older people said, "He's a helluva good scholar, and he is a good colleague," and we voted him back. He did come back and had another productive phase in his career.

LaBerge: When you say "faculty," do you mean just the business school?

Cheit: Yes.

LaBerge: Or do you mean Academic Senate?

Cheit: Well, I mean, he was active on the campus. He was a very well-known figure.

LaBerge: But it would be the business school faculty who would decide.

Cheit: That's right. Fame can be fleeting, especially if you're not among the young hotshots, producing the kind of thing that young scholars are doing. It was an instructive faculty meeting, but there were enough people to assert the needs of the institution over the claims of the discipline. We made a wise decision.

XIV THE ASIA CONNECTION

First Trip to Asia, 1966

LaBerge: Let's talk about your Asia connection. Was there a trip before 1977 to Asia?

Cheit: Yes. The first time I went to Asia was in 1966. I was executive vice chancellor, and was invited to a large meeting in Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia. They were talking about a lot of issues, among others, student unrest. They very much wanted somebody from Berkeley.

My trip was financed by the Asia Foundation, with whom I had had little contact before that. It was the first time I had been to Asia. I went to Hong Kong then a year later. As is the case, the first trip to Asia is an education. I got a good look at Malaysia and what the divisions inside Malaysia were. It was a very instructive conference.

LaBerge: Who else was there?

Cheit: Universities from all over Asia were represented, as were a few other American universities. But primarily it was the Asia Pacific universities. These were about four days of meetings. I was in my hotel, in K.L., and my phone rang, "Vice Chancellor Cheit?" "Yes." My caller introduced himself as a Berkeley alumnus who I later learned was a highly successful businessman in Malaysia.

He said that he read in the paper that I was in town at this conference. Would I go to dinner with him and one of his colleagues, who also had been at Berkeley? It was an interesting occasion. These two men had heard about Berkeley when they were on a trip to Hong Kong when they were young. They applied to Berkeley, and were admitted. One took mechanical engineering, I don't recall the other. They weren't business school alums, but they were business people. One was later described to me as the biggest battery maker in Malaysia.

Both were Chinese, and they were already being discriminated against in Malaysia. In the corridors at the conference, the talk was about the university vice chancellor--they used the British system--who was retiring, and that the logical person to succeed him was Chinese and

therefore there was no way he was going to get the job. The big racial blow-up in Malaysia was still a few years off.

Both men felt a debt to Cal. There's a little footnote to the evening because as we were dining in this hotel, two beautiful young women showed up. They had invited them for my dancing pleasure and conversation.

LaBerge: I take it that June wasn't there.

Cheit: She was not there. No. There was dance music, and so we danced. I was a little concerned about where this evening was going, but at one point they excused themselves to go to the powder room, and we didn't see them anymore. It turns out that these are two young women who worked in the company that one of these men owned, and he invited them to come to dinner and to enjoy the evening. And their English was very good. They discreetly disappeared, to my relief.

LaBerge: [laughs] I can see the headlines in the *Daily Cal*.

Cheit: Yes, exactly. So that was that trip to Asia.

Alumni Association Lecture Trip, 1977

Cheit: And then shortly after I became dean, the Alumni Association asked me if I would go on a lecture trip with June to Asia, in 1977. I had been quite active for the Alumni Association out on the hustings speaking to alumni chapters. So they asked me to talk about the university. So June and I went to Manila, Tokyo, Taipei, and Hong Kong.

We had a great time with these alums. We sang Cal songs, and talked about the university. The Philippines used to send many students to Cal. But after the Marcos dictatorship, applications dropped off sharply. When we were in Manila, there was martial law at that time. You couldn't be out after ten o'clock at night. The Marcos regime was in full control.

We had large alumni turnouts. I don't know if the association still does that sort of thing. The alumni in Manila arranged for a cultural event and some folk dancing to reflect their culture. They tried hard to thank us for coming.

At each place I spoke and June and I had discussions with many people. We established contact with a lot of very important Cal alums, contact that was useful in many ways in the years to come.



June and Budd, 1979.

Photo by Gerda Fulder

China Trip, 1979: A Glimpse at Some Flowers from the Bus

Cheit: We went to Asia again in 1979, our China trip. As you know, [President] Jimmy Carter recognized China after the famous Nixon trip, and the U.S. officially recognized China May 1, 1979. The leaders of our trip were Gene Trefethen and Evie Haas, Wally's wife. The trip needed an official sponsor, so it was called UC Berkeley-San Francisco Museum of Modern Art China Trip. They were the official sponsors.

We called ourselves the Gang of Twenty-Three. Chancellor Bowker sent Lowell Dittmer, a China scholar; I think at that time [he] was head of the Center for Chinese Studies on campus. He was a very good Mandarin speaker.

Bowker called me one day and asked whether June and I would like to go along on this trip, because there were some very important Cal alums. I said yes. So we went to China for seventeen days. It was a splendid trip. Evie Haas and Gene Trefethen were tremendously well-organized people. We did our homework at our orientation meeting, we met in the board room at Levi Strauss, where they served some Trefethen '76 Chardonnay, which was his gold medal winner that really made the wine famous. I remember that chardonnay very distinctly.

Gene and Evie created committees. There was a committee to handle the correspondence and a committee to handle money, a cocktail committee. At the end, when all the important committees had been taken, June and I still didn't have an assignment, so they made us the journal committee.

LaBerge: So that's how the book came out.

Cheit: Yes. We were the journal committee.

LaBerge: But you were the perfect people to do it.

Cheit: I don't know if we were perfect or not, but we did it. I took some notebooks along, and June did, and we started making notes. Very early on we asked everybody to make notes, to share anecdotes with us. Out of our journal came the book. Bill Lane and his wife, Jean, of *Sunset*, were on the trip.

We were among the early visitors to China. When we went to Beijing, for example, we went to visit the American Embassy. The rugs were still rolled up. They hadn't yet put the carpeting in. They were still painting. The ambassador then was--you know, the fellow who was head of the [United] Auto Workers Union.

LaBerge: Leonard Woodcock.

Cheit: Leonard Woodcock.

LaBerge: It's just because I looked at this today.

Cheit: Good! [laughs]

LaBerge: It's not that my memory is so good.

Cheit: Yes. Woodcock wasn't there, but his deputy received us. They were still hanging pictures and painting walls and so on.

June and I made notes and took pictures. Janet Fleishhacker, a well-known San Franciscan, was on the trip. She had the first reunion. People brought pictures. At the next reunion, June and I brought a xeroxed copy of what we had written. People were rather surprised by what it looked like, so they encouraged us. We asked for more anecdotes, and they sent them to us. Then Bill Lane said he might be interested in publishing it.

And he did. When the book was published we had a gala dinner at *Sunset Magazine* down on the peninsula. Everyone was there. Bill Lane also invited the Chinese consul general, who was in San Francisco then. We unveiled the book at that dinner. *Sunset* sold quite a few copies. We dedicated the proceeds to the Scalapino Center here, the Institute for Asian Studies. There's a picture somewhere of our handing Bob Scalapino a check for our royalties from the book. The book attracted a lot of attention, and it was an engaging project.

LaBerge: How did the two of you do it together? How did you divvy it up?

Cheit: June is an editor, and so she did the editing, and she worked on the picture captions. A lot of those captions are devilishly clever.

LaBerge: They are.

Cheit: The Chinese couple carrying that child with those wonderful pants the Chinese children had--the pants with a slit in the back for when nature calls. June's caption says, "A family outing at the Forbidden City, Peking."

LaBerge: [laughs]

Cheit: June did some of the writing. I probably did more of it. She did the editing, brutal editing, and she did the picture captions, and she worked on the organization. It involved some fussing at each other. But we got it done.

LaBerge: Does she edit other things that you do?

Cheit: She did. Oh, yes. She edited that first book, *Economic and Social Security* that eventually went through five editions. She edited that heavily. She edited not everything that I wrote, but most of what I wrote. Her affliction now is doubly devastating. She's now legally blind. Not only can she not do the editing she did so well, but she can not read anymore.

Yes, she did a lot of editing for me. She edited the newspaper columns I wrote for about seven years or so.

Lectures on the *Pearl of the Orient*

Cheit: A couple of years after our China book came out, 1982 I think, I got a call from a fellow in San Francisco, John Traina, who may have been one of Danielle Steele's husbands. He ran Pearl Cruises, and had a ship called *Pearl of the Orient*. He asked if I would be a lecturer on that ship. Jim Cahill, the art historian, had done it and urged me to do it. Of course, I said yes. June and I flew to Hong Kong to board the ship. We cruised out of Hong Kong and up the coast to Shanghai. The *Pearl of the Orient* was a converted car ferry, so it had a low draft. It went right into the middle of Shanghai. We docked literally at the Bund.

Then we went to Beijing, to the port that you take to go to Beijing, but then all the way up to--

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Cheit: --to the northern part of China and then over to Korea. In fact, we went to Pusan, and that was really quite a moving experience. If you remember your Korean War history, you know that when North Korea invaded, they pushed the remaining forces, including what was left of that first group of American forces, down to just a perimeter in Pusan. Pusan is in the southeast corner of Korea. [General Douglas] MacArthur made his famous landing at Inch-ón, behind the lines, and turned the war around. Pusan is a very important Korean town. After Pusan we sailed up the inland sea of Japan. That was our next trip to Asia.

Haydn Williams and the Asia Foundation

Cheit: In the meantime, I had gotten to know and had done a little bit of work with the Asia Foundation. The Asia Foundation president at that time was Haydn Williams, really a remarkable man. If I can just digress a moment about him.

LaBerge: Yes, please do.

Cheit: Haydn Williams has been president emeritus now for about a dozen years or so. Before he came to the Asia Foundation, he was assistant secretary of defense. He negotiated the treaty that gave these Micronesian islands their independence. I'm pointing to this map [on the wall].

Recently--I'll come back to Asia in a minute--President [Bill] Clinton made him chairman of the American Battle Monuments Commission. The commission oversees American cemeteries all over the world. When we were in the Philippines June and I visited the American cemetery there, a place of beautiful architecture and painful memories.

The Battle Monuments Commission had a new assignment, namely to create a World War II monument. Haydn has been working almost full time on the World War II monument that now is being built on the Mall [in Washington, D.C.], a somewhat controversial monument. June and I were in Washington about a year ago, and had dinner with Haydn. He commutes. He lives in San Francisco, but he commutes back and forth. He was still struggling with the approval process and court challenges.

Anyway, that's Haydn Williams. I had gotten to know him and to admire the foundation's mission, which is to try to help Asia evolve democratically. The foundation sponsors work in support of an independent judiciary, a free press, parliamentary governments, civilian control of the military. Fundamentally it seeks to foster pluralism in Asia.

Haydn Williams realized that market economics are essential to pluralism. The foundation started financing certain market approaches, and so Haydn asked me if I would go to Asia and evaluate their impact. He knew that I had done evaluations earlier.

Evaluations of European Grantees for the Ford Foundation

Cheit: And let me now go back to the trip to China, because the Ford Foundation had asked me to review its work supporting post war business schools in Europe. Ford had put a lot of money into Western Europe. I did that in '78, '79 and '80. In '79, when we finished our China trip, June and I split off from the group. First, we had to go out to Tokyo to go to Europe because there were certain places you couldn't fly. So we flew from Beijing to Tokyo, and then the rest of the group came home, but we flew to Stockholm via Moscow and Frankfurt.

At that time, when you flew over the Soviet Union, you couldn't take the shortest route; you had to fly up a corridor; then we had to stop in Moscow for refueling, which itself was quite an experience because [there were] people standing with machine guns when you got off the plane. It was really a cold experience. I managed to buy a bear, a little hand-carved bear to add to my bear collection.

June and I went to Stockholm because I was still working on this Ford Foundation project. I was reviewing grants that had been made in Stockholm to the university. Next we went to Norway, to Bergen and to Oslo, because grants had been made there, and then went to Sicily--grants had been made in Palermo--and then came home from Sicily.

Anyway, over a period of time every chance I got, I'd slip over to Europe and work on these reviews. What happened to the money you put into these projects? At the end I wrote a long report to the Ford Foundation. I submitted that report in '81. I found a copy in my files the other day.

Evaluations for the Asia Foundation

Cheit: Anyway, Haydn Williams knew that I had done this kind of review, and so he asked me if I would do a similar review of Asia Foundation projects in Asia. So June and I went to Asia. The first trip was in the early 1980s, I think '84, maybe. I took some time off here. I can't now remember how I arranged my affairs, but I took some time off, and I said I'd only do it if June could go with me, and so we went to eleven countries, including some of the most difficult ones.

In South Asia we went to Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. We went to Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia, and Taiwan. We went to Hong Kong, China, and Korea.

I wrote a long report about what they were doing. They were putting money in some fledgling MBA programs. We spent a lot of time in Indonesia. In several of these places, I gave lectures. I gave a couple of lectures at the University of Indonesia. I met the so-called Berkeley Mafia, that group of people who were trained here.

It was a long trip. My report told the foundation what I thought they were doing well and what I thought they should do more of. They liked what I said, and thought it was useful. Then Haydn Williams asked me to go out to Asia again.

Director of CAPA, Center for Asia Pacific Affairs

Cheit: The foundation had created a small center, called Center for Asia Pacific Affairs, CAPA. The fellow who was head of CAPA resigned, and Hadyn asked if I would become head of CAPA. I took a half-time leave from Berkeley for about six months to run CAPA, this center, in San Francisco.

LaBerge: You're not the dean anymore.

Cheit: No, no.

LaBerge: You're a professor.

Cheit: That's right. I went out to Asia several times. I went out to meet with the foundation representatives. The Asia Foundation is a wonderful organization, and they were doing terrific work, including some absolutely ingenious work.

On one of our trips to Asia, June and I left our formal itinerary to go to Burma. We went as tourists. It was once a wonderful country, with so many natural resources and interesting things, but it has been so repressed and corrupt that its beauty was overshadowed by the despair of the people.

We were there for about a week. We went all around the country. Our tour leader, an attractive young Thai woman, started the trip with two big sacks. I soon learned what those sacks were about. When we landed in Rangoon, she said to us, "Now, you just sit on this bench." And then she came back to us about fifteen minutes later, and she says, "Well, you've now cleared Immigration and Customs." And so she took us out a side door to a bus. I said, "Now, wait a minute. How did we clear"—and she said, "Two bottles of Johnny Walker Black Label." At first it was amusing, but after a while it became depressing because she had to bribe people at every stop.

The Asia Foundation wasn't in Burma then, but its books were being smuggled into Burma because the promotion of the English language in Asia is a very big part of the Asia Foundation's program and people want the books. People were bringing books into Burma and getting them distributed. That's a whole other story.

So I really became very involved in Asia through the Asia Foundation.

Funding Sources of the Asia Foundation

LaBerge: Where does the Asia Foundation get their money?

Cheit: Right now they get their money from two places. There's an Asia Foundation bill; that is, part of the State Department's proposed budget includes money for the Asia Foundation, and it's argued before the Congress. They get a small amount of money, about \$15 million. Their budget is now about \$50 million. The rest they get from private donations and foundations.

And they're so efficient and it's run so well that the Asia Foundation often gets grants to carry out work for other foundations or for U.S. AID. I shouldn't burden this oral history with all the kinds of projects--

LaBerge: This is wonderful. Someone will use this for research.

Grants to Women, Bangladesh

Cheit: Well, some of the projects that we visited--you know, the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, the Grameen Bank, where they give small sums to women to start little businesses just on their own good character and their promise to repay it--you know, has been much talked about.

Well, the Asia Foundation in Manila had a similar program. They'd give fifty dollars--a large amount of money in that context--to women who were food vendors. In many Asian cities, food vendors are a common sight on the streets. Sometimes it's delicious food, sometimes it's food you eat at your peril. The foundation gave them fifty dollar loans to become food vendors, just on their personal promise to repay it, because they didn't have any security.

In Bangladesh, we observed a project of using rice husks for energy to run small engines in the field. With Asia Foundation help someone invented a small engine that you could use in the field to do various harvesting tasks. You could fuel it by using rice husks that burned. It's like a little tiny steam engine. We went out in some remote field where they had a demonstration of how this thing worked. It didn't pan out. It was a very bold experiment, but not all their experiments work.

In Bangladesh the foundation discovered that if you keep girls in school, they don't have babies. And so a very efficient and developmental way to have some limit on the tremendous birth rate in Bangladesh, and to give these girls a chance, the foundation made small grants.

We looked at MBA programs all over. In Thailand, where Americans were very concerned, as they still are in many places around the world, about intellectual property being ripped off, the question was how could you encourage Thailand to adopt intellectual property laws that protected intellectual property. Well, the Asia Foundation can only function in a country that wants them there. They don't meddle in the legislative process.

Romance Writers in Thailand

Cheit: But a very clever woman, the Asia Foundation representative in Bangkok, figured out that a highly popular genre of books in Thailand is romances, sort of the kind of thing that Danielle Steele writes in this country. Thai writers turn out these romances, and there's a big market for them, but they get ripped off because other people copy them.

So she organized a group of romance writers. She organized them to get them to see that their future economic security required protection of intellectual property, their own. There's a wonderful parallel here because it was the British who were first very unhappy with the U.S. We used to rip off British books, before intellectual property was protected here. Well, these

people were one factor in encouraging Thailand to adopt some protection of intellectual property.

I so admired this woman and the grant that she made. It was about \$9,000. These are small sums. If you want me to, I'll give you a couple of other examples.

LaBerge: Yes, yes.

Promotion of Independent Press in China

Cheit: The Asia Foundation promoted an independent press. In some countries it's a difficult struggle. It gave fellowships in China to Xinhua. Xinhua is the official Chinese news agency. They gave them fellowships to go to the Columbia School of Journalism. They gave one-year fellowships. And you can imagine the culture change of someone coming out of that controlled society and thrust into Columbia University. A part of this fellowship enabled them to go to Washington with the White House press corps, sit in on some questioning of the president. After a year at Columbia, these people went back to Xinhua.

Once when June and I were in China we met with these alumni of the Columbia program. There were about thirty-five of them. They were bright, inquisitive and outspoken.

During the Tiananmen Square demonstrations--before the crackdown, as June and I were watching television, we saw marching down the street a group of the Xinhua people. Remember, this is the official state news agency.

Beginnings of Asia Foundation under Harry Truman

Cheit: My point is that we just visited many interesting projects. Earlier you asked how the foundation got its money. There's more to this story, because the Asia Foundation was really created out of an initiative by [President] Harry [S.] Truman. Truman saw that the Allies won the war, but he was afraid they were losing the peace both in Europe and in Asia. Radio Free Europe was created in order to promote democracy in Europe, promote democracy by broadcasting unbiased news. He wanted Radio Free Asia.

Asia is so much more complex and so much larger, that he never got his Radio Free Asia. But he concluded that what he should do is to create a grant-making agency that would foster democracy in Asia. So the government created the Asia Foundation. Where's the quickest way a president can get his hands on money? The CIA budget. So the Asia Foundation was launched by money from the CIA.

This was true for several years. Then eventually, as part of a Freedom of Information suit directed at learning what the CIA is funding, this all came out. What we learned was the CIA was funding the National Council of Churches, among many other organizations. Dummy foundations gave the money.

Indira Gandhi kicked the Asia Foundation out of India, even though she liked what they were doing, because of the CIA funding. The foundation is back in India today, I might add. But June and I did not go to India. We did go to Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, where the foundation was active.

Anyway, after that all became public, the Asia Foundation said, "We're going to get our money out in the open," and so the State Department sponsored it, and now it's an act of Congress that's publicly debated before a congressional hearing. The program of the foundation was unchanged. It has evolved, but that's a little history, a footnote to its funding history.

Pacific Economic Outlook

Cheit: There's just one other thing about Asia I should mention. While I was at the Asia Foundation, we launched the Pacific Economic Outlook, an economic forecast of now twenty-one countries in Asia. I was very active in getting it organized. [moves away from microphone] I was just going to look for a copy. I'll raise my voice because I'm a little far away from the microphone. Anyway, here's the one for last year, '99-2000.

The Pacific Economic Outlook had complex auspices. The Asia Foundation administered it through the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, which I was also a member of. It was easily the best economic forecast in Asia. The person who did some of the writing and oversaw the rest was Larry Krause now emeritus at UC San Diego.

I was the one who oversaw the work of the foundation on the forecast. Two of us, Haydn Williams and myself were the ones who got it started. The Asia Foundation has now decided to let it transfer to Australia, and it's being now done in the Australia National University. I left, Larry Krauss retired.

The forecast was unique in that forecasters from each country would meet--and they will meet again this December when I will meet with them--just for old time's sake. They all gather to hear the forecast for Japan and the U.S. The U.S. forecast is done by Saul Hyman from the University of Michigan. And the other countries adjust their forecasts by what is forecasted for Japan and the U.S., the two largest economies in the region. Then all forecasters meet in Osaka in March. They reveal what their models show. Then Larry Krauss would put the figures together and write it.

Ford Foundation Program in Belgium ##

Cheit: There is one other evaluation project that we may not have talked about. Have I talked about Belgium?

LaBerge: No, and it's on our list.

Cheit: While I was reviewing the Ford Foundation projects in Europe, one of the men I met in Brussels--because the Ford Foundation had given money to the Brussels Institute--was a worldly man by the name of Gaston Durenck. Belgium is split between the French and the Flemish, and to have a name, Gaston and Durenck is absolutely perfect. And, of course, he spoke perfect French and Dutch, as well as English.

We became good friends. Sometime in 1980 or '81, Gaston called me to join an advisory committee to oversee a project that was being funded by the Industry University Foundation of Belgium. The project was a review of the business and management offerings in all the Belgian institutions. It turns out there were ten of them.

The project was to be run by an American historian from the University of Hawaii. He was also going to look at the larger role of these Belgian universities in the development process: what they were doing, how they were evolving. Skipping a lot of intermediate steps, he didn't work out and left the project.

LaBerge: We didn't get his name. Do you want to--

Cheit: Not necessarily, no. Gaston then asked me if I could head up the business school side of this. So I decided to do it. That is how the Brussels phase of my activities began. I had a small staff in Brussels.

LaBerge: And so did you move to Brussels?

Cheit: No, three times a year I went to Brussels for about a week. But I was in touch by DHL [courier service] and by phone. I worked out a questionnaire, and the staff gathered all the data. I then visited the ten institutions and did what an accrediting team would do in the U.S. First of all, we'd review the data. Then we talked to students, to faculty, to rectors (administrators). What we were trying to do was to get a picture of how effective these programs were and to make a judgement about their standards, their quality.

There was no tradition of somebody from the outside coming in and looking over your shoulder. Belgium had some terribly antiquated practices. At that time in a Belgian university, one got tenure in a course, not in a department or a field, but a course. If you were a lousy teacher and nobody came to your classes, you still got paid.

Our sponsor was Industry University Foundation, which in Belgium is an effective idea. Instead of the universities going to the companies to ask for money, the companies get together and put their money in the foundation. The foundation board has the rectors of the universities plus the business people. They make grants to the universities. That group decided it was time to take a look at management education.

One of my colleagues on the project was Pierre Tabatoni, a professor of organizational behavior, who became French Deputy Minister of Education and eventually the head of the Sorbonne. June and I visited him in his Sorbonne apartment and in his best perk, his hunting lodge in the Loire Valley, property that once belonged to Cardinal Richelieu.

We had offices in the Place Stephanie, in the middle of Brussels. I stayed in a small apartment right off the Place. And then I'd visit these institutions after we had the data about them. June would go with me in the spring and then we'd take a vacation. (I really worked hard at this.)

When I finished my report, they asked me to present it in person. In Belgium they have two of everything. There's a French minister of education and a Flemish minister. We met in the auditorium of the Belgian National Bank, an ornate bank, and I presented the report to them. Some of the recommendations didn't sit well. For example there's a little city in the south of Belgium, in the Walloon area, called Mons. It has two institutions. One was struggling. And I recommended that they merge. One rector never spoke to me again. He was furious. And I don't think they've merged.

The report praised the schools where they did good work, and it made a number of recommendations. I have followed up, and they have adopted some of the recommendations; others, they haven't. In all, it was an interesting experiment. They were so pleased that by order of the king, I was made a commander in the Order of Leopold. I have this decoration that sometimes I wear when I go to commencement, this big medal. It's the highest honor they give to a foreigner who is not a head of state.

LaBerge: Wow. Did they give it to you at this presentation?

Cheit: No, they did not. They gave it to me later, in New York. Also, when there are black-tie affairs, I sometimes wear my rosette. But I do not wear the medal.

I want to finish that part of Europe. My other European work during the early eighties was in Stockholm, a paper I prepared for an international seminar arranged by the National Council on Industrial Policy. I'll give the Swedes credit—they anticipated globalization long before it became a cliché. They asked me to prepare a paper on policy responses to employment shifts produced by economic growth. In the light of current disputes about the effects of globalization, they were remarkably prescient.

I really spent in the eighties a lot of time on Asia, and in the early nineties, working on the Pacific Economic Outlook and doing things for the Asia Foundation.

LaBerge: Now, did you incorporate some of that in your teaching?

Cheit: Oh, yes. And indeed, I then started teaching a class in trade policy, for which my research was extremely helpful. I taught trade policy to our MBAs. Our last trip to Brussels, June went to the

museum and got me a little memento. Here, it's hanging on the wall, entitled *Delices Des Flamans*. It's a wood block showing these fellows smoking their pipes and drinking. It's how the Belgians enjoyed life.

LaBerge: Shall we stop then?

Cheit: Five more minutes, if there's one more thing. I fear I'm being long-winded.

LaBerge: No, you're not! It's wonderful! Do you have one more thing, or do you want me to ask you a question?

Cheit: Ask me.

Introduction of Professor Steve Miller to Andreas Papandreou

LaBerge: How about going to Athens to introduce Steve Miller--

Cheit: Ah, yes.

LaBerge: --to Andy Papandreou.

Cheit: Andy [Andreas] Papandreou, yes. I was invited to give a paper at an international conference in Athens. Mike Heyman was then the chancellor. I used to see Mike quite a bit, and I told him that I was going to Athens. He said, "You know, you should look up Steve Miller, who's doing a dig over there." And so then I met Steve here on the campus and told him that I knew Andy Papandreou.

Andy Papandreou was a faculty member at the University of Minnesota, where I did my Ph.D, and I took courses from him. I knew him well. We knew his first wife, and we knew his second wife. I think earlier in this oral history, I mentioned that when I came to California, Andy Papandreou and Art Ross jointly invited me to come. Papandreou invited me to teach Econ 1 AB, and Art Ross to do this research project in the institute.

We were good friends. Andy was interested in my work on social insurance. He had started going back to Athens, first as part of research work and then he became drawn more and more into Greek life and Greek politics. Eventually he decided that he belonged back in Greece in public life.

When I went on sabbatical in '63, Andy had invited me to come to Athens with him. He wanted me to work on the social security system of Greece. I couldn't, and we went to Geneva instead. But we were both in touch and good friends with Andy and Maggie.

LaBerge: You also told the story of saving him from--

Cheit: Well, I don't know if I saved him, but at least--yes.¹

I told Steve Miller that June and I were coming, that we'd like to go out to Nemea and see the dig and that I knew Andy Papandreou. Steve was worried about the upcoming election. Some of the people running for parliament in Andy's party said they wanted to get rid of foreign archaeologists who are ripping off the Greek patrimony.

Steve was worried because the best information he had was that Andy's party, PASOC, was going to win, and he saw the danger that his work could be destroyed, or at least stopped. So I wrote to Andy, told him that June and I were coming to Athens and would like to have dinner with him and would like to introduce our friend, Steve Miller.

Andy wrote back saying, "Delighted. Let's have dinner at my house." We went to Athens, we visited Steve's dig at Nemea. It's inspiring to see Steve in action. It was our first time, our only time, actually, in Athens, and we visited Athens' famous sites. Then came the time for the dinner. Steve picked us up in his car, and we drove out to Andy's house in Kastri, which was in a suburb of Athens.

Maggie, who had planned to join us, couldn't because she was campaigning. She was in one of the outer islands. She couldn't fly back to Athens that night because there was either a strike, as there often is with Olympia Airlines or a mechanical problem. She couldn't join us. The four of us had dinner together at Andy's house.

It was just a few weeks before the election, which his party won, and he became prime minister. We talked a lot about old times. We pressed Andy in a gentle way, because his speeches sounded like he was abandoning the market system and that he wanted to operate a controlled, centralized kind of economy. He said, "Oh, no, no." He tried to put our minds at ease. We shouldn't pay attention to campaign rhetoric, that he really believed in markets, that the most radical thing he wanted to do was something like co-ops; that he did not believe in top-down economic planning.

Then we got the topic around to the dig. And Steve Miller, who is one of the world's most charming and articulate men, laid out his worry. He didn't shade it. He just told it as it was. Andy said, "No way. Don't worry. We believe that what you're doing is wonderful," and "How can I help? [Is there] anything else I can do?"

Steve said, "Yes, we've been trying to get a telephone line, and it's been eighteen months, and we're told we're on a waiting list." Andy said, "I'll take care of it." Andy was elected, and Steve told me three weeks later they got their telephone. No bill ever came up in the

¹See page 167

parliament to kick out foreign archaeologists. And so it was a happy meeting with a happy ending.

Later Steve got to know Andy. He came out to the dig, and when they dedicated the dig, Andy's secretary of culture, Melina Mercouri, came to Nemea. As Steve later told us, many Cal alums were there for this big dedication.

LaBerge: Mr. [Rudolph] Peterson was there.

Cheit: Yes, because he donated the library. He's our business school alum. We saw his library. It's beautifully designed. We later learned there was a VIP section, and there was a section for the rest of the people. At the dedication Melina said, "No way! No VIPs here." She ripped down the ribbon, and they all rushed in. I was told there was general chaos, but friendly chaos.

Anyway, that's that episode.

LaBerge: It's wonderful that you got them together.

Cheit: That's just how events sometimes let you be an intermediary.

XV CAL PERFORMANCES AND UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

[Interview 19: July 9, 2001] ##

Committee for Arts and Lectures

LaBerge: Today we thought we'd talk about Cal Performances, so why don't you tell me when you first got involved?

Cheit: I was involved in the arts on campuses before there was a Cal Performances. Shall I say a few things about that?

LaBerge: Yes, because I saw your name on a committee before--

Cheit: The predecessor organization was called CAL, or the Committee for Arts and Lectures. It was created a long time ago. In fact, I think that in two or three years we're about to celebrate a centennial of the organization. The Committee for Arts and Lectures was created at a time when having lecturers presented by a central campus organization really meant something. Now on any given day there are probably fifty distinguished lecturers around the campus, so that doesn't make sense.

But I was interested in the arts and was asked to serve as a member of the Committee for Arts and Lectures. I did that for some time. I have to struggle a little bit to remember the dates, but Donald Coney, the campus librarian, was the chairman, and Betty Connors was executive director.

I eventually became chairman of the Committee for Arts and Lectures, and had one hilarious episode. The committee had subcommittees for dance, for theater, and for music. These were all faculty members. They took their role very seriously, and they would look at proposed programs.

Once, when I was chairman of CAL, the Oakland Symphony was going to play here, the music subcommittee demanded to see the program in advance, saw it, and rejected two of the pieces. They said that those are old war horses and that the symphony ought to play something else.

It was my job to let the Oakland Symphony know, its conductor, music director, that they couldn't perform the planned program. His name was Farberman. I called the chairman of the board of the Oakland Symphony, and that was Edgar F. Kaiser.

LaBerge: Whom you already knew by this time?

Cheit: Yes, I knew him. And he talked to the maestro, who was also a composer. In fact, Edgar came over to the campus, and we had lunch, and he said how upset the maestro was. At lunch Edgar Kaiser had an idea. He went to the maestro and proposed that they drop whatever it was that they were going to play and that instead they play one number that he, himself, had composed, one of his original compositions. That pleased him. So he changed the program and played one of his own compositions. I learned a lot from Edgar Kaiser.

Anyway, as the way the events unfold, when Edgar Kaiser was seriously ill, his colleagues created an endowed chair in the school in his name, and in 1986 I was elected to the Kaiser Chair, and I occupied it until I retired.

Christopher Keene's Opera

Cheit: At various times I went on and off CAL, but when I became vice chancellor there were a couple of times when I intervened to help the arts on the campus. There was a young history student here, who was a brilliant musician, who wanted to put on some operas on the campus. And the music department was very jealous of its role and wouldn't let him have access to any facilities there, to say nothing of any support.

I gave him some money from the chancellor's office, discretionary fund. It was a modest amount, maybe a few thousand dollars, maybe even as much as five. I can't remember exactly. Anyway, his name was Christopher Keene. And Christopher Keene, who graduated here in history, went on to become the artistic director of the New York City Opera. He died just recently, a young man, a victim of AIDS.

LaBerge: What was it about him that made you want to support him?

Cheit: I knew a student who was working with him. He was a young man who was the son of a professor of astronomy here on campus, Harold Weaver. His son Kirk had taken a class from me. He collared me and told me I should take a careful look. I incurred some grumbling from the music department when I did this.

Anyway, they mounted a student production of the *Rape of Lucretia* in Wheeler Auditorium, and it was well done. June and I enjoyed it immensely. I supported him on one other occasion that I now can't remember, but I supported him twice, and I felt rather vindicated when he went on to this illustrious career.

Zellerbach Hall Policy Board

Cheit: Zellerbach Hall had been started before I became vice chancellor. When I became vice chancellor, the hall was completed. I think it was opened in '66 or '67. I can't remember now. And I discovered, as executive vice chancellor, that there was no budget for Zellerbach Hall. I created a committee and made myself its chair, so it would have some clout. We called it the Zellerbach Hall Policy Board. I chaired it for a number of years. There were no policies about who could use the hall, who will run it, who has priority. So we worked out all these policies and found a budget to operate it.

LaBerge: From the chancellor's fund?

Cheit: We found it in various places. There was more money in those days rattling around the system. We were able to create a budget for Zellerbach Hall. Later, when I left the chancellor's office, Jean Dobrzensky, who was my assistant, took over and served on the group. She was an extraordinarily able person.

Cal Performances Review Committee

Cheit: But then I think in about 1985 I was asked to serve on a committee that the chancellor appointed. The committee's assignment was to review what was now called Cal Performances. Cal Performances had had a very difficult period of time. It ran up a big budget deficit, and it was in trouble.

LaBerge: This was in between Betty Connors and Robert Cole?

Cheit: Right.

LaBerge: Who was the person?

Cheit: A woman I didn't know well. Her name is Susan Farr. I wasn't in close touch at that time, but whatever she was doing wasn't working. Here is an interesting aside: she was just hired by Dan Mote, who used to be vice chancellor here and is now the president of the University of Maryland. The University of Maryland next September opens up a new performing arts center, and she's going to be the director of a very large arts program. I wish her well.

Anyway, I was not the chairman of the review committee.

LaBerge: It was more than just the budget, it was everything?

Cheit: Oh, yes, it was to cover everything: what should Cal Performances be doing? And the chairman was Hugh McLean, professor of Slavic languages and literature, who I see at various events. I see him at Cal Performances and I see him at Philharmonia Baroque.

The chancellor's office--Mike Heyman was now chancellor--wanted a thorough review of Cal Performances. Our committee met for at least for a year. He assigned a staff member, who knew and cared about the arts, to gather data for us. His name was Ernie Hudson. He's now at the Santa Cruz campus, in the chancellor's office. I ran into him one day down there.

We produced a fairly long report, the essence of which was that Cal Performances should find its unique role. It ought to do programming that reflects the fact that it's of the Berkeley campus, not just from it; that it ought not to try to duplicate offerings in San Francisco. This one thing that Cal Performances had done, they put up signs saying, "San Francisco East." We all thought, No, no, no. I'm not saying that was her only problem, but it was one of the things that happened.

We recommended that the way Cal Performances is run should change; that it should have an executive director who makes the artistic decisions; that he not have a faculty group make decisions. That's the way Betty Connors had operated.

LaBerge: That the faculty made the decisions.

Cheit: Yes.

LaBerge: And was that the problem when you were chair? For instance, when the Oakland Symphony was going to put on--

Cheit: That's right. And we weren't unanimous. Some of our committee, Olly Wilson from the music department, for example, who had been on the old Committee for Arts and Lectures, was opposed to this recommendation, and maybe one or two others.

Chair, Cal Performances Advisory Committee, 1987-1996

Cheit: We submitted this report, and the chancellor accepted it. I thought that was the end of my role, but then he called me to say that there had been a search committee now looking for a new director. Of course, I was not on that search committee. I vaguely knew there was a committee, but had nothing to do with it.

They had a director. They had somebody who was going to come aboard, and that was Robert Cole. The chancellor said he was going to accept our recommendation that we create an advisory committee, but only advisory--it was to be faculty members exclusively--to advise him on the program; but that he, the new director, would have the final say.



Earl Cheit, chairman of the board of trustees, Cal Performances, with Director Robert Cole, 1997.

Photo by Bob Adler



June and Budd (Cal Performances honoree) arriving for season opening performance and celebration, September 2000.

Photo by Peg Skorpinski

And he asked me would I chair that advisory committee.

LaBerge: This is in about 1986, maybe?

Cheit: Or '87. I think Robert Cole has been here now almost fifteen years, so it must have been '87. Mike Heyman was very candid. He said, "There's going to be some flak. Your committee has dissent. I'd like you to do this because you're used to taking flak when you were executive vice chancellor. You can do it. And you're interested in the arts."

I agreed to do it. We created a committee, and we met. And that's how I first met Robert Cole.

LaBerge: Did you choose the committee members?

Cheit: In conjunction with Robert Cole. The chancellor appointed them, but we made recommendations. He had some ideas--and he wanted Olly Wilson on that committee. Music, the dramatic arts, and dance were all represented. Marni Wood was already here. We had about nine people around the table. We were Robert Cole's advisory committee, and I was chairman of that committee until we decided in 1996 to create a board for Cal Performances.

In the meantime, Cal Performances had to start raising more money. It launched the summer early music festival, and there was a separate support group led by Carol Upshaw, who got people together for lunch once a month and talk[ed] about the early music festival and about raising money.

Board of Trustees, 1996-2001

Cheit: Cal Performances also created a business group called the Business Council, to raise money, and they created something called Friends of Cal Performances, FO-CAL. Anyway, there were three fundraising groups. We decided all that ought to be brought together in a single board.

A group of us got together, the founding mothers and fathers here, and we created a board [1996]. We submitted the bylaws to the chancellor and Mike Smith, the campus lawyer, ironed out a few problems. The founding members asked me to be its first chair. The board is now entering its sixth year. It has grown. The board does a lot of money raising, which is one of its key roles. And Robert Cole has been just an enormously successful, able director.

I went through the first term on the board, and then announced that I was going to rotate out of the chairmanship because I thought after something like fifteen years as chairman of the advisory committee and now the board, it was time for new leadership. I have stayed on the

board, but we have terms. I think I have two or three years left and then I'll have to rotate off that board for at least a year break, and then they can invite me back or not.

You'll notice the Cal Performances program lists me as founding chair. Last year Cal Performances very generously honored me and made a fuss in the opening program. It was all good fun and it raised some money. By the way, just before this interview, I attended a committee meeting of Cal Performances.

Committees

LaBerge: How often do you meet?

Cheit: The board meets five times a year, but the real work of the board is done in committees, and there are quite a few committees. I'm on three of them.

LaBerge: Tell me what they are.

Cheit: Well, the committee that met today was the committee on trustees, which does both nominating and evaluating trustees. One of the things that we just did today was to evaluate trustees who aren't living up to their financial commitments. We have a trustee commitment statement that says every trustee will give or get \$5,000 a year, and that trustees will come to meetings and participate fully. We want trustees who really care about the arts.

One of the things we did in the meeting I just came from was to review a few people who haven't been living up to all of their obligations, to remind them of them.

LaBerge: That's a little dicey, isn't it?

Cheit: It is. But we're going to do it.

You asked what committees. I'm also on the executive committee, and I'm on the long-range planning committee that's developing a new five-year plan.

LaBerge: Is one of those concerned with finances?

Cheit: I'm not on the finance committee. In one way or another, all committees are concerned with finances, but there is a finance committee.

LaBerge: When did it become more than just faculty?

Cheit: It expanded beyond just faculty before there was a board. Robert Cole, a wise man, said in the early 1990s that we should have a community representative on the advisory committee. The

first person that we selected was Carol Upshaw. She had been very helpful in getting people interested in the early music festival. So she was the first.

Now the board has about thirty-three members who are regular members. Then it has about nine ex officio, including two students. It has John Cummins from the chancellor's office; somebody from music, somebody from dance, and somebody from the English department. We have some faculty members and administrators and students.

They're [the ex officio members] exempt from the \$5,000 "give or get," but we do expect them, not the students but the others, to make some personal contribution or to raise money, and they all do something, even if it's just a couple hundred dollars.

LaBerge: How is the committee chosen?

Cheit: The chair chooses the board committees, and the board ratifies them. The chair goes to the board with a slate.

LaBerge: So how did you find people? How did you think it up?

Cheit: For the board?

LaBerge: Yes.

Cheit: Well, we had a group of people who were very interested, who were patrons, the founding mothers and fathers. They included Carol Upshaw, Ralph Mendelson, who's on the board, and of course Robert Cole and myself. We also had Jean Hargrove, who's been a very important board member. About a half a dozen of us formed the committee that drafted the bylaws. We were a self-selected group. But we stayed in close touch with the chancellor's office and had the chancellor's approval as we went along.

By the way, Chang-Lin Tien was interested in our board, and he agreed to join it. Before he could come to his first meeting, this terrible affliction hit him. He's on our roster, but we don't know when he'll be able to attend.

LaBerge: I think I heard he's doing a little better?

Cheit: That's what I've heard too, yes.

LaBerge: But that's not very good.

Maybe you only meet five times a year, the whole board, but how much time do you spend in a year, do you think?

Cheit: A lot. I'd have to go through my datebook, but I would say as chair I spent a lot of time.

LaBerge: A meeting a week, something like that?

Cheit: I would say maybe the equivalent. If not a meeting a week, the equivalent in phone calls and in identifying and recruiting board members and so on. It takes a lot of time. The chair now is [Kathleen] Kathy Henschel, a former student of mine. She is an executive at Chevron. And she spends a lot of time.

Well-run Organization under Robert W. Cole

Cheit: But it's time very well spent. If you look at what Robert Cole has done, just in the last five or six years, we have almost tripled in size. We now do about a hundred performances a year. Cal Performances was so well run that the then-executive vice chancellor, Rod Park, asked Robert Cole to take over SMA, Student Musical Activities: the Cal band, the jazz band, the men's octet, the women's vocal groups. They were organizational orphans and had bounced around under different auspices.

The advisory committee recommended against it, but Robert Cole is a good citizen. So today, Cal Performances is the administrative home to Student Musical Activities. The band director, the jazz band director, the choral ensemble director--they report to him.

Programming

LaBerge: How much input do you have in programming?

Cheit: We have set it up in the following way: the board has a committee called the artistic advisory committee. It meets with the director. We invite all trustees who are interested to attend. So it's not just limited to the committee members. At those meetings, Robert says, "This is what I'm thinking about in the next"--well, we're always a year and a half or two years out. "This is what I'm thinking about." And then he solicits views.

The group includes people there who are very well informed. He'll say, "I'm thinking of the So-and-so Quartet." And someone will say, "Well, have you heard them lately? I just heard them in Chicago, and they aren't sounding as good as they used to." That's the kind of conversation you'll get there. Robert listens to all this advice. And then he might say, "Well, I will check it further." He makes the decisions. That's why it's so good, because there's one artistic sensibility behind the decision-making.

You asked do I participate. I go occasionally, and I've given him suggestions. I've heard a good quartet somewhere to add, and he hadn't heard about it. June and I heard a group in

Germany a couple of years ago. We told him about it. He wrote to them, but nothing came of it. People do give him suggestions.

##

LaBerge: Okay, you were saying you attend Cal Performances.

Cheit: A lot. And I should add that we do not give free tickets to anyone. Well, I shouldn't say that. We don't give them to the chairman or to board members. We buy our tickets. Last year, June and I went to twenty-three events.

Finances and Fundraising

LaBerge: Well, can you tell me something about the finances? You must have been involved with that at some point.

Cheit: Oh, yes.

LaBerge: And how you go about fundraising.

Cheit: I'm very heavily involved. Cal Performances gets some of its money from the university; it gets some money from the McEnerney Endowment that Clark Kerr, in his wisdom, earmarked for Cal Performances.

LaBerge: When he was president?

Cheit: Yes. We also get a small amount of money from reg [registration] fees, and that's it, from the university. And that money constitutes about 20 percent of our budget. About 60 to 65 percent of our budget comes from operating income. Operating income is ticket sales, rental of the hall (which isn't that much), and concession sales (which are very small). That's a very high number for an arts organization. Our aim is to have another 20 percent from gifts and grants. If we get that, we would have some money to build up a fund for contingencies.

We balanced the budget last year. We have no debt. But every year is a challenge. Fundraising has to be very important if it is 20 and now maybe more than 20 percent of an \$8.5 million budget. You're talking a substantial amount of money.

We have a development staff of three people. They rely on foundations, corporations, and individual gifts. All of us do some fundraising, which means asking people for money.

Quality and Variety of Performances

LaBerge: In the programming, what audience are you trying to reach? You said you don't want to be San Francisco, but are you trying to reach students? The community?

Cheit: That's a perceptive question because there are a number of audiences that Cal Performances tries to reach. Last year we sold about 180,000 tickets. That doesn't mean 180,000 people because I came twenty-three times. But we sell a lot of tickets. And we reach different audiences.

We offer Berkeley campus students--half price, any seat in the house, and that's really very generous. It's much more generous than any university in the country. I had an MBA student do a survey of other universities. Michigan has a policy like ours, but they limit it to a student enclave or a student ghetto. In theory, students could buy every seat in the house [here].

We also have student rush. Thirty minutes before the performance a student can buy any available ticket for five dollars. We draw a lot of students. We had some estimates last year of maybe about 8,000, which we think is pretty good. We'd be happy if it were more. We market to students in a number of ways.

Our programming starts not with an audience in mind but with the quality of the performance in mind. We present different kinds of music and dance and drama. Our chamber music series [we hope] will attract chamber music lovers. We always have some lieder singing and one or two recitals.

We have a very important dance program. I have for years bragged, accurately I think, that we're the most important dance stage in the country. We've had Mark Morris here for a residency. We had Merce Cunningham here for a residency. We have many dance companies come here.

We present what we call world music and dance. We'll have a dance troupe from Nepal or one from Brazil. And, of course, new and experimental music. But the emphasis always is also on high quality.

We've presented operas. We had *Platée* that went from here to New York: it's coming back here this fall. And we have the American Ballet Theatre. We do very little symphony. The Berkeley Symphony rents the hall from us. We do not present them.

We present some drama. It's hard because the hall, Zellerbach Hall, has 2,000 seats, and it's hard to do drama there. We had the Berliner Ensemble, and we had the Gate Theatre, but we presented them in the playhouse.

Robert Cole looks for young artists on their way up. Cecilia Bartoli has been here six times. The first time, she was just a sweet little girl, and some patron had a small dinner at his

house afterwards. She was sitting there on the couch, chatting with us. Well, now she's an international superstar. She and her manager still feel a loyalty to us, and she came here this last year, and we'll get her again, but we can't get her every year.

We have developed relationships with artists, and then they do things on campus. Wynton Marsalis came with his jazz band from Lincoln Center. He also gave lectures in the music department. We try to have a campus tie-in whenever possible.

You asked what audience do we aim at. Well, we aim at a variety of audiences who want to see what we believe is the very best of different kinds of dance and music and theater. We had four Persian masters playing Persian music. June and I went to that, and I looked around, and I didn't recognize one person in that house. It was jammed. Every seat was sold out. There was this great excitement. The only person I recognized in the house was Robert Cole, who was there--

LaBerge: I'd like to say for the tape that that's very unusual that you wouldn't recognize somebody in the house.

Cheit: That's right. It is. And when the musicians came out on stage, the audience gave them a standing ovation, the way they did for Cecilia. This different audience knew them. I suspect many of those people had never been to Zellerbach Hall, but they wanted to hear these Persian masters. It was highly engaging music.

When we have a dance troupe from Brazil, you have a different, boisterous group. When you have Alvin Ailey, you have a still different group. So there are many people who come here. But the emphasis, as I say, is we try to have a balanced program of dance, drama, chamber music, new music, world music and jazz. But the main emphasis is always on quality, artistic merit.

I'll just say for the tape that Robert brought into the artistic advisory committee an inquiry from Riverdance. They were interested in coming here. The artistic advisory committee said, "This is commercial dance. There's no reason for us to do that." Robert agreed and he turned it down.

LaBerge: And they found a big place in San Francisco.

Cheit: I'm sure they didn't have any problem. And sometimes we pick up somebody first. For example, Stomp. We had Stomp here first. These are the people who do that wonderful drumming, percussion with all sorts of things. We had them first, and they were an enormous success, the students loved them. But they became greedy, if I may say so, for the record, and they were offered more money, and they gave us the back of their hand the next time around. They went to where they got more money.

SchoolTime

LaBerge: How about the programs for school children?

Cheit: The education and community programs are an important part of what Cal Performances does. For children we have something called SchoolTime. We work with the schools, and they bring children to Zellerbach Hall for a special performance. When we first started that, by the way, most artists were willing to do that as part of their fee. Not anymore. They now require a special fee. But that's okay, because we then expect them to put together a special program for the kids.

Last year we had something like 20,000 schoolchildren come to the campus. In addition we do programs in the schools, and we brief people before they come to SchoolTime. We have an able woman, Laura Abrams, who develops a curriculum statement for teachers to work with the students. I've been to several this year. It's exciting to be in the hall with 2,000 children.

As chairman and now as a member of the board's long-range planning committee--I'm of two minds about those programs because on the one hand, they're tremendous, and I go to them and enjoy them immensely. But, on the other hand we spend a lot of time and money on these programs. And I'm quite grumpy about the fact that the schools are wiping out arts education and leaning more and more on groups like Cal Performances or the Berkeley Symphony or Philharmonia Baroque or the San Francisco Symphony to bring the arts into the school or to bring the schoolchildren to the arts. Those programs are excellent, but they should not become substitutes for kids learning to play the oboe or the drum or whatever at school.

LaBerge: Or the cornet.

Cheit: Yes. I've admired what our staff does, but I'm always trying to guard against mission creep. I raise that point often.

LaBerge: The schools who come don't have to pay.

Cheit: They pay. It used to be free. It was one dollar. Now it's maybe two or three dollars.

LaBerge: But minimal.

Cheit: Yes, and we raise funds for schools that can't afford to pay. When you see what can be done, it's inspiring. This last time, with the Berkeley Symphony, for example, the program was just brilliant. They taught the kids to take a little bottle, like maybe an aspirin bottle or something, and put a stone in it, and then create a rhythm instrument. And then a group of the orchestra would play something, then they'd signal, and the students would provide percussion. These were third and fourth graders. And it was just wonderful. And so you think, "Just look at this. How wonderful it is. And look, what if they had this an hour a day or whatever, a half hour a day in the school, how it would open them up." So anyway, I'm preaching here.

LaBerge: That's okay. We want your view. I don't think this has been talked about anywhere.

Cheit: We talk about it. Our board of Cal Performances is extremely proud of what we do in the schools. And so am I. I probably go to more school programs than most board members, because I enjoy it. But every time I see it, I feel a little bit of resentment that the schools are reducing their commitment to the arts.

Aside on Music Lessons

LaBerge: Now, on that note, did all of your kids learn an instrument?

Cheit: Well, they all studied music, but did they learn an instrument? Our older son, David, learned the trumpet and was a much better player than I. He hasn't played in a while, but he studied piano and trumpet. He wanted to come to Cal to be in the Cal Band. He never was. He came to Cal and then got in the Cal Jazz Band, but he had a job and was too busy. He never got into the Cal Band.

Our other children all took music lessons. Wendy played the oboe in the university orchestra at UC Irvine, but I never heard the group play. As for David, I once had the experience of walking across the campus to the track to run at noontime. The jazz band was playing, and suddenly I heard a great trumpet solo. As an old horn player, I was attracted. I walked over, and it was my son playing the horn! He was very shy, and he took the solo, and people applauded, and he just averted his gaze and walked back to his place in the horn section. But he doesn't play anymore.

I bought him a fine second-hand horn, the top-of-the-line Bessen. The metal is so fine you can feel your hand when you clean the bell.

High Profile for the Campus

LaBerge: What else on Cal Performances? Have we covered all--

Cheit: Well, I think so. It's in good shape. I have continued to be active. It's very important to the campus. And I think it's the best organization of its kind in the country.

The UC Berkeley Foundation had the Peter Hart organization do a survey of Californians.

LaBerge: Is the Peter Hart organization part of the foundation?

Cheit: No, no, it's a commercial opinion group. I think Peter Hart may be the son of the late Jim Hart.

LaBerge: The former director of the Bancroft.

Cheit: Right. It's a commercial polling organization. They did a statewide poll of attitudes toward the university. *The* most known aspect of this campus is Cal Performances. More people recognized it than recognized Cal athletics.

LaBerge: It appeals to a broader group than athletics, I think.

Cheit: That's right. And it gets a lot of good notice because of what it does. Well, that fact really got the attention of a lot of people.

LaBerge: Are our faculty still a part of this board of trustees?

Cheit: Yes.

LaBerge: Besides the ex officio?

Cheit: For a long time, I was the only regular faculty trustee, [not an ex officio trustee]. We recently appointed a second one, Alex [Alexander] Pines, a famous scientist, and a patron of ours. He is highly knowledgeable about the arts. He's coming on the board. We'd like to have more.

LaBerge: I'm assuming that part of it is the financial commitment.

Cheit: Part of it is the \$5,000 a year. That's right. Since I was part of the group that established the rule, I've lived up to it, but I've always considered that so important to the campus, I've been willing to do that.

LaBerge: Anything else on that that I haven't asked?

Cheit: If I think of it, I'll raise it later.

University of California Press

Board of Control

LaBerge: Okay. Well, do you want to go to the UC [University of California] Press, or should we cover some of the things on your list?

Cheit: Well, let's talk about the UC Press. I was invited to become a member of the UC Press Board of Control I think in 1980, and it's another great campus love. Actually, the press is a systemwide organization, but it's located here. I don't spend as much time there as I do at Cal Performances, but I admire it a lot and have spent a lot of time there.

The UC Press has an interesting governing structure. There's a board of control, and the chair of the board of control is the executive vice president of the university. Now it's Jud King. [William] Bill Frazer was the chairman at one time. Between Frazer and King there was Massey.

LaBerge: Walter Massey.

Cheit: Yes. Anyway, the person in the number two spot in the university is chairman of the board. The board of control has about a dozen members, and it meets three or four times a year. Its jurisdiction is the financial and organizational affairs of the press. There is also the editorial board. Its members are appointed by the Academic Senate.

LaBerge: Systemwide Academic Senate?

Cheit: Yes. It has members from all campuses or most campuses, and it has a southern chairman and a northern chairman. They review all manuscripts. In theory, the editorial board deals only with the manuscripts, and in theory, the board of control deals only with money, management and organization.

However, the reality is that when the money is tight, the board of control often has to get into issues that touch on editorial policy. It's a very good press. It currently publishes about 180 books a year. We publish many journals, I think about forty-five journals. We publish for learned societies, and we make some money because we're good at publishing journals. Some of them we publish because they're an outgrowth of research interests of University of California faculty members. And, of course, we publish monographs.

The press is subsidized by the university.

Finance Committee ##

Cheit: However, there are serious ups and downs in the publishing business, and in the early 1990s, during a time of recession and tough university budgets, the press' funds were cut. We appealed to President [David] Gardner, for an extra infusion of money, and Gardner said, "I'll do that for you if you set up a finance committee to follow finances and send me a letter about the press' finances annually." And he asked me to be chairman of that finance committee.

LaBerge: So you've been involved from--

Cheit: From 1980 I've been a member of the board of control, and from the early 1990s, about '92, I think, I became chairman of a newly created (by the president) finance committee. The finance committee meets three or four times a year and then reports to the board.

We have worked to keep the press operating on a balanced budget. The press has done many interesting things. It opened up a warehouse, a joint venture in New Jersey, with Princeton [University], and that is because a lot of our customers are in the East. Fulfillment--in other words, fulfilling your order--is a lot more efficiently done closer to where your customers are. In doing that, we had a fight with the union because we have a Richmond warehouse, and we do fulfillment in Richmond.

And we had a problem with the IRS [Internal Revenue Service] because the IRS decided that the new venture was for-profit--even though it's part of the University of California and Princeton. So we have to pay taxes.

LaBerge: So pay New Jersey taxes, too?

Cheit: Yes. We certainly pay federal, and I think we may pay some state. At any rate, that was a long legal hassle that we finally gave up on. It has been very successful [the joint venture].

The union fought us because we were going to close Richmond. We didn't close Richmond, but we reduced it. So we still run Richmond on a reduced basis. It's not nearly as efficient as our joint venture with Princeton, but that's the reality.

The Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers

Cheit: The press has many fine achievements. [James H.] Jim Clark, the editor, is an excellent editor and director. The Martin Luther King papers are a good example. The editor is a historian who's on the faculty at Stanford.

Mrs. [Coretta Scott] King had to choose a publisher. She narrowed it down to Stanford Press or the California Press. She came out here, and Stanford had a limousine meet her and wined her and dined her. And then she came up here, and she had to walk up to the second floor of Jim Clark's office at UC Press, and then he walked her two blocks over to University Hall, where President Gardner talked with her.

Jim Clark spent his time showing her what we had done in this field. Well, she chose University of California Press. It was a tremendous publishing coup. Also an expensive one, because we had to raise money to support those books. But I was so proud of our staff, and I was so proud of the work that they have done in the past that showed her that this was a place where it would fit in. Anyway, Stanford does its thing, and we do ours.



Luncheon honoring Earl F. Cheit for twenty-three years on the UC Press Board of Control and Chairman of the Finance Committee, April 10, 2002. L-R: Provost and Senior Vice President C. Judson King; Earl F. Cheit; James H. Clark, UC Press Director Emeritus.

Photo by Peg Skorpinski

Effect of Downturn in Economy, 2000-2001

Cheit: In the last few years we have had very successful growth because of the growth in booksellers such as Amazon.com, Barnesandnoble.com. They bought heavily from our back list, previous publications, for stock. So Amazon can tell you in its website, "usually ships in twenty-four hours." Why does it usually ship in twenty-four hours? Because you ask for a famous University of California Press book, and they'll say, "usually ships in twenty-four hours," because in their warehouse in Nevada they've got twenty copies of our book.

Well, in the last two years, but this year especially, with the downturn in the economy, and dot-coms reeling, Amazon.com and Barnesandnoble were hurting. They started returning the books.

I learned when I went on the board of control of UC Press that there's a saying among book publishers, and that is, "Gone today, here tomorrow," because the buyer can return if it's in original condition. We've been getting books back, boxes unopened. So right now we're in a tough period. Sales dropped this year \$2 million, which is about 10 percent of our sales. So we're running a deficit.

We're having several meetings to work out what are we going to do about this. This is where the relationship of the board of control to the editorial part of the press becomes dicey because we adopt a budget that says to the press, "You've got to do certain things," and the only way they can do those things is publish fewer monographs. If you have a monographic work that has fewer than four or five hundred sales, the numbers of those that we can do is diminishing.

There is pressure on the press to publish what we call mid-list books. Every now and then you'll get a great book. Like, Chipp's *Theories of Modern Art*,¹ which is a text that is widely used, but there aren't very many *Theories of Modern Art*, unfortunately. That is, books that produce that kind of revenue.

So we are forced to make budgetary decisions that have editorial implications. I don't know what's going to happen. So that's the problem we're wrestling with right now. Jim Clark is retiring sometime next year, and his successor will be a very important appointment. And I have been talking about retiring from the board of control when he does, and I probably will.

¹Herschell B. Chipp, *Theories of Modern Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

Many Tasks Accomplished

LaBerge: All along, since we started the oral history, I wondered how you have done everything you've done in a day. These two things [Cal Performances and UC Press], for instance, take so much time. How do you do it? How did you teach? How did you have a family? How did you work it all out? Do you sleep a regular eight hours? Do you have a lot of energy? Or what is it?

Cheit: Well, it's hard to give an answer that doesn't sound self-serving.

LaBerge: But--

Cheit: Well, let me say this, I did indeed teach--and we should devote some time here because I've maintained a teaching schedule throughout this, including when I was on half-time leave to the Asia Foundation. I taught two courses a year and supervised about two or three doctoral dissertations. I consider myself primarily a teacher. That is my main occupation. And I have taught both in the undergraduate and the MBA program.

[pause] I have had a lot of energy. Let's just leave it at that.

LaBerge: And you must be well organized. Well, I *know* you're well organized.

Cheit: Well, at least I've had a lot of opportunities to do a lot of interesting things. That's true.

LaBerge: There's more to it than that. [laughs] [tape interruption]

Alfa Romeo, 1974

LaBerge: Would you tell me about your Alfa Romeo?

Cheit: Well, in 1974, driving down San Pablo, June and I once saw some beautiful Alfa Romeos at the Griswold showroom. We stopped and saw a beautiful blue 2000 GTV. That's a body style you always see in Europe. It's a classic beauty, two-seater. June said to me, that I was at an age where men either had a mistress or a sports car. Why didn't I buy a sports car? So I did.

It wasn't until later that I thought, "Gee, why couldn't I have both?" [laughter] But anyway, I bought that Alfa, which was the last time they sold that body style in the U.S., because it didn't meet the new environmental standards. I had that car for twenty years. I sold it in 1995, for more than I paid for it. I sometimes wish I had it now. But it's gone.

I bought a second Alfa after that, a sedan, no romance connected with that, but I got rid of it recently because it was getting hard to get parts, because Alfa Romeo has given up on the U.S. market.

The only other thing to say about that is that I had an outstanding mechanic, who's still in business, on San Pablo Avenue. When I bought the car, he said, "I only have one piece of advice for you, and that is never let a service station attendant look under the hood." Only he could look under the hood. He even made house calls when necessary.

I always thought about the '74 Alfa, that the owner's manual was written by the marketing department, not by the mechanical department. It said that if you raced it professionally or drove for any sustained period of time faster than 120 miles an hour, the warranty didn't cover. I did neither. But my mechanic raced Alfas. He and his colleagues were disappointed in me because I just drove it around town.

Mediation for the Ford Foundation

LaBerge: Well, on to a more serious subject. (It's 4:25.)

Cheit: We could talk about the two times that the Ford Foundation asked me--

LaBerge: Okay. Mac [McGeorge] Bundy asked you to be an arbitrator? Is that right?

Cheit: Well, a mediator. On two occasions--I had come back from my stint at the Ford Foundation and was back here teaching. Mac Bundy and Doc Howe, [Harold] Howe [II], his executive vice president, called me to see if I could mediate disputes between two of their important grantees. The first time was in 1975, and the second time was in 1976 I think.

Barnard College and Columbia University, 1976

Cheit: In 1976, Barnard, the women's college in New York that's associated with Columbia, right across the street, had a new president. Her name was [Jacqueline] Jackie Mattfeld. The president of Columbia, Bill [William] McGill had been chancellor at our San Diego campus. I knew both of them. I liked Bill a lot because during the period of student unrest he was principled and not mushy. He had a very clear sense of university administration. He [phone rings]--[tape interruption]

Jackie Mattfeld had just become president of Barnard [1976]. She wasn't even inaugurated yet. She and Bill McGill got into a fight. It was really a serious disagreement. The problem

was she didn't realize when she went into that presidency the extent to which the bylaws of the institution make Barnard subordinate to Columbia. She could not make a tenure appointment without Columbia's approval. There were other ways in which she felt subordinated and humiliated, actually. Their disagreement hit the press in New York. They were going public. And she was a new president and, as I say, hadn't even been inaugurated yet.

Mac Bundy called me, and he said, "You always like to come to New York, and these are two very important institutions, and we give them a lot of money. We don't want to see them hurt by these problems. Do you think that you could bring them together and get some kind of understanding? We think it takes an outsider." He knew that I had had labor relations experience and arbitration experience.

I said I would try since I knew both of them. I called both of them, and made a date to meet for dinner at the University Club in New York. It was pleasant. They were very stiff with each other, but we managed. Bill McGill, now deceased, was a garrulous fellow, and after a few drinks we had a productive conversation.

I made a lot of progress that night. I laid out an eight-point program of the first series of steps in resolving their dispute. Step number one is the one you always specify when you're trying to mediate something: no more public statements. They agreed they'd only communicate through me. No press conferences, no reference to this in the public.

They also agreed on several additional steps that we were going to take, among them, creating a joint committee to identify exactly how many appointments were causing her this anguish; and to find ways the two institutions could work together within the bylaws. I was delighted with the progress that we'd made. I had arranged this trip to come during the week before her inauguration. I then went back to New York to her inauguration because I wanted to get a more complete feel for the situation. Her inauguration speech had a few little barbs, but it was a good speech. The three of us were to have another meeting soon. But then the agreement fell apart.

I think it's fair to say that she went public first, but she said that he had not lived up to some of the steps. Anyway, I picked up the *New York Times*, and I saw that the mediation process was dead. And so, having earlier called Mac Bundy back and said, "Well, I've got them on the road; these are the steps," the thing fell apart. They had a kind of low-level guerrilla warfare. But then, after she left--

LaBerge: Did she leave shortly thereafter?

Cheit: Not immediately [1981], but she did not have a highly successful presidency there. She was succeeded by a woman I didn't know [Ellen V. Futter], who was highly successful, a woman who left Barnard in the last few years [1994] to become head of the Science Museum in New York. I've never met her; I only know her as a public figure. But she was very successful.

In the meantime, Bill McGill retired, and Mike Sovern became president of Columbia. The two institutions created a working relationship, and from what I know, it appears that those problems have gone away. But not because of anything that I did.

Howard University, 1975

Cheit: And the other mediation effort was in 1975. Mac and Doc called me and asked would I go with a co-mediator to Washington, D.C., to see if we could patch up the fight between Howard University and the Joint Center for Political Studies, which was located in downtown, not on the campus, in Washington, D.C. Howard is the nation's leading historically black university.

My co-mediator was Basil Patterson, an important figure in New York political life, often considered as a likely candidate for mayor. He is a very sophisticated, astute man. So the Ford Foundation had two mediators, one black man and one white man. The two of us went to Washington together. I knew him as a public figure, but I had not met him before. He was an engaging and thoughtful man. I greatly enjoyed his company.

First, we had a long meeting with the president of Howard University, a man by the name of James [E.] Cheek. Then we had a long discussion with the head of the Joint Center. The dispute was about autonomy, how much was the center subordinate to the campus for budget, appointments. The dispute had some similarities to the Barnard-Columbia problem I took on later.

After two days we decided that the situation was intractable. We could not move it, let alone solve it. We told them what they ought to do to solve it themselves, and then left.

So those are my mediation triumphs on behalf of the Ford Foundation. [laughter]

LaBerge: Whatever happened to that?

Cheit: Well, in the fullness of time and when it became in their interests to do so, Howard and the Joint Center started cooperating more fully. I wish I could tell you that they followed our advice, and perhaps they did, but I don't know that.

LaBerge: So should we end it there?

Cheit: Yes.

UNESCO Trips to Venezuela, 1977 and 1981

[Interview 20: July 23, 2001] ##

LaBerge: We thought we'd go back and pick up some things that we had left undone. One was the UNESCO [United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization] trip to Venezuela in '77.

Cheit: Twice, '77 and '81. Out of the blue one day, probably in late '76 or early '77, I got a call from a man who was head of child psychiatry at UCLA. He said that he was forming a team to go to Venezuela on behalf of the UN. I think it was in connection with the UN year of the disabled person. They were going to focus on children and particularly on mental retardation in Venezuela. They asked if I would be part of the team. I asked what would I have to contribute? He gave me their background.

The group in Venezuela that had done more than anyone to deal with the mental retardation of children is a private group with the acronym AVAPANE. It had been so successful in some work with children that they started offering training in dealing with mentally retarded children. They were considering starting a graduate program. He wanted me to talk to them about graduate education and what is involved in giving a graduate degree. I went to Venezuela and June went with me. I think we made two trips, in '77 and '81.

It was really an instructive experience because Venezuela at that time--and I haven't looked at the data since--had the highest per capita income in all of Latin America because it had oil. It's a member of OPEC. The first big OPEC embargo was in 1973, so Venezuela gained a lot of money, and yet there was a great deal of poverty.

What I learned was that there are a very large number of low birth weight babies born in Venezuela, particularly to the poor people in the countryside. There is a very close correlation between very low birth weight, malnutrition and mental retardation. Here then, was Venezuela, by some standards quite a prosperous country, with high rates of mental retardation in children because of malnutrition.

We visited the workshops that AVAPANE had created there. They had a sheltered workshop and education programs. These were all aimed at giving skills to these mentally retarded young people so that they could lead useful lives. They also did education of mothers in the countryside about nutrition, and then education programs of training teachers, to train people to deal with mental retardation. It was really very impressive. On our second trip we gave papers. I have the volume of the papers that came out of that meeting. AVAPANE published the book.¹

¹Deposited in The Bancroft Library

My paper was on public policy towards the disabled. As faithful readers of this oral history will know, much of my early research and publication was in worker's compensation, which dealt with injuries. The whole experience was very moving.

The amount of work that these NGOs, non-governmental organizations, AVAPANE and the others connected with it, had done was really impressive. Yet the thing that struck me, aside from the impressive work that they were doing, was the tremendous income gaps in that country. We inspected what they call the *ranchitas*, makeshift dwellings around the city. Caracas is a very beautiful city that sits in a valley. And up around it are these *ranchitas*, people who have left the countryside because they can do better on subsidized food and welfare in the city than they could scratching out a living off the land. The slums of East St. Louis were about as tough as any I've seen in the U.S., but these were worse. Really bad.

Thoughts on Venezuela

Cheit: We were working with several families in Venezuela who were leading the financing of AVAPANE. There was the Baracasa family and the Mendoza family, and there was one other. These people were very public spirited, and immensely wealthy. And I mean *immensely* wealthy. One of these was the banking family, the Mendozas I think. They had in the center of Caracas, an estate, that covered many acres, a walled estate. I think they were at the time probably one of the richest families in Venezuela.

Anyway, they sent their chauffeur to pick us up, and they described the car that would come for us. It was an old, beat-up Chevrolet, the kind of thing that a college kid would drive around here, because they were afraid of kidnapping. So they don't send out limousines.

We went to this dinner, a sit-down dinner for perhaps a hundred or more. They had a room of pre-Colombian art that rivals anything in any museum I've ever seen. This was just one of their rooms that they devoted to their pre-Colombian collection. In all, it was a moving experience to see how much progress they are making with the mental retardation problem.

LaBerge: It's probably the kind of thing where you're still interested in it whenever you read about it in an article.

Cheit: Yes, Venezuela is very much on my mind.

LaBerge: Should we move on, or do you have another anecdote about that?

Cheit: There were a lot of little incidents there. How money is wasted when the countries get this huge OPEC-induced windfall. For example, with this money Caracas bought the most elegant garbage trucks on the market. They had a mini-computer that the garbage man was supposed to operate. Within weeks, all were inoperative and the trucks disabled. So when we were

there, the city hired private truck owners to pick up garbage until they could somehow get rid of those computers and go back to just old ordinary garbage trucks. It was an interesting insight as to what happens to these windfall riches.

We also learned about how the census is taken. One of the days we were there, was a census day. On census day, everyone must stay home. No one except emergency workers are permitted on the street. So everyone is counted.

LaBerge: And you were there that day, so you stayed in the hotel?

Cheit: We stayed in the hotel.

LaBerge: Anything more?

Cheit: Anything else would just be the contrast between rich and poor.

LaBerge: Have you been to any other South American countries?

Cheit: Not South American. We've been to Guatemala and to Mexico, of course, a couple of times, but Venezuela is as far south as I've been in South America.

Campus Committee on Honors

LaBerge: I don't think we talked about the Campus Committee on Honors; did you want to say anything about that?

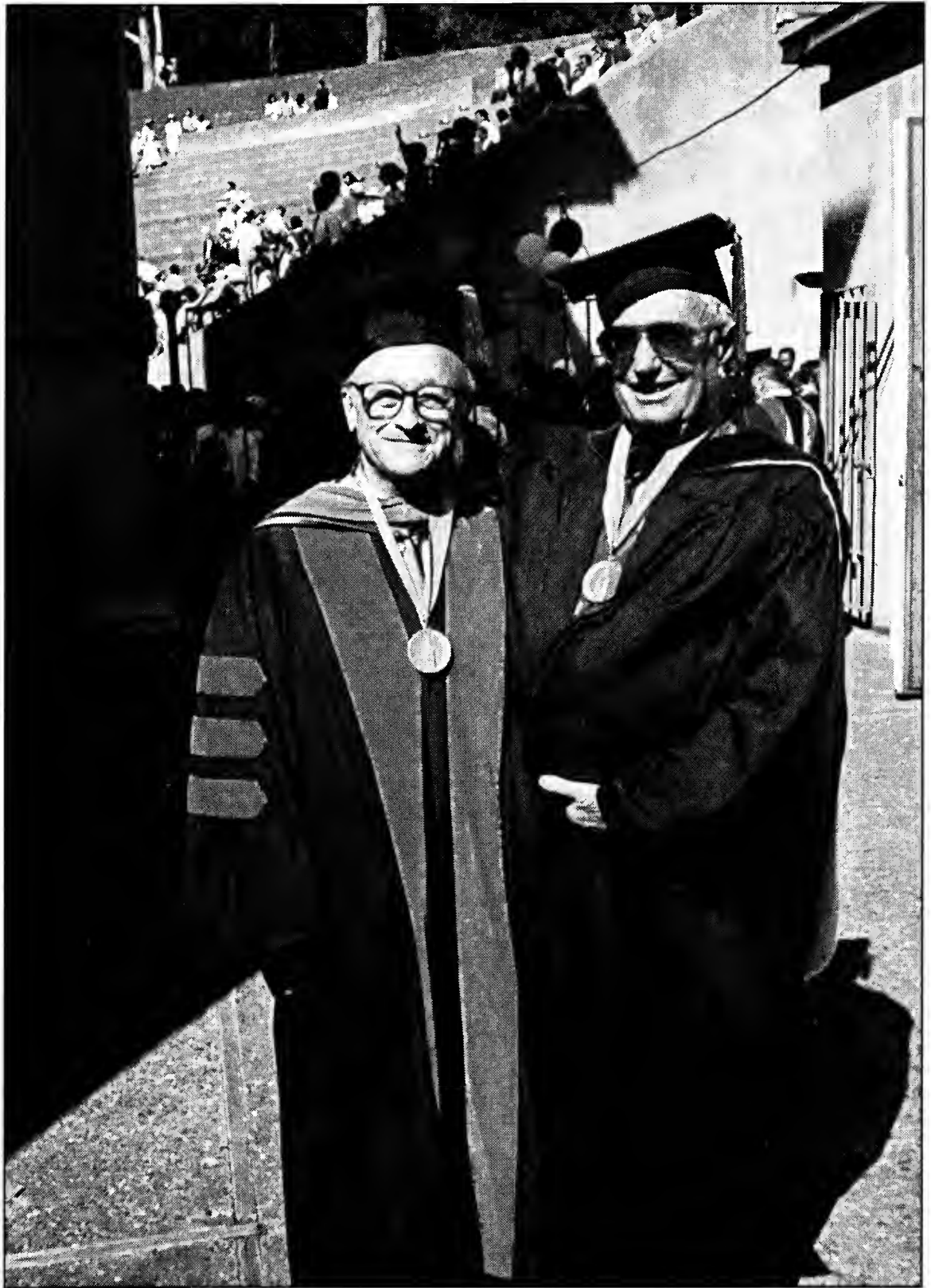
Cheit: Just a bit. The Campus Committee on Honors is an outgrowth of the dropping of the honorary degrees on this campus.

LaBerge: I wonder if we did talk about it then. Say a little bit more, because I don't want you to have to repeat yourself.

Cheit: Earlier I noted that Cal used to award honorary degrees at commencement and at Charter Day. The Charter Day speaker was once Mayor Lindsay of New York.

LaBerge: And Reagan didn't want him there.

Cheit: Right. In an executive session of the regents, the Lindsay degree was voted down. And in response, Regent Heller, Ellie Heller—she told me all this afterwards—"All right, if we're going to deny this honorary degree to Mayor Lindsay, I vote that we offer no honorary degrees, that we put a moratorium." That passed. The result of that regents' meeting was that Lindsay



Earl Cheit and Walter A. Haas, Jr., at business school commencement, May 1991, wearing their Berkeley Medals.

didn't get an honorary degree. He still came out here and talked, but he received no honorary degree. None has been awarded since.

The Centennial Citation and the Berkeley Citation

Cheit: So the university had to devise a way to recognize people that they want to honor. At that time, the man who used to be in charge of Charter Day was Garff Wilson, now deceased, a professor in the rhetoric department. Garff came up with the idea that was introduced at the Centennial in 1968 and introduced the Centennial Citation.

The Centennial Citation was to be given to a hundred people during the year of the centennial. Not a hundred people, but a hundred citations. Some went to organizations, like the Cal band got a citation. After the centennial, people said, "This was such a wonderful idea, this citation, that we ought to continue it." So its name was changed from the Centennial Citation to the Berkeley Citation. To this day, the Berkeley Citation is given to faculty or staff for outstanding service to the university and excellence in their fields.

I was a member of that original committee with Garff Wilson. The famous Jim Hart from The Bancroft Library was the chairman. I served for many years as a member of that committee and then I became its chairman. I was the chairman of the Committee on Honors in the seventies and the eighties and into the nineties. When Chang-Lin was chancellor, I told him that I thought it was time for change. So with his permission I resigned quietly from the committee with a year's notice and they appointed someone else. I don't even know who is the chairman today. It was a confidential committee that made the recommendations to the chancellor.

The Berkeley Medal

Cheit: During our time we also introduced the Berkeley Medal.

LaBerge: What's the difference between the Berkeley Medal and the citation?

Cheit: The medal is given typically when a head of state or distinguished foreign visitor comes here to speak. It's not given to people because of their gifts to the university; it's not that kind of an award. Perhaps one or two medals a year are awarded. In a secret meeting of the Committee on Honors during the time I was chairman--they managed to have a secret meeting without my knowledge--I was awarded the Berkeley Medal after I finished my year as acting dean, my second term as dean. I had received the Centennial Citation during the centennial.

It was, and I'm sure is, a hard-working committee. Among the people who served when I was chairman were Louise Clubb from Italian literature, Bob Connick from chemistry, and Bill Shack, now deceased, from anthropology. Jim Hart also served as a member after his chairmanship; and Dan Koshland was a member for several years.

LaBerge: You would review all the petitions or applications?

Cheit: That's right. And what we started doing--to make sure that people didn't have to wait for some friend or dean who took their interest into account--was to send out letters in the Spring to deans and directors and department chairs, setting out the criteria. In the case of an academic, we required that the person not only be outstanding in their field, but also gave notable service to the university. We'd sometimes get nominations back from somebody who published ninety papers, but never served on a senate or administration committee. We would not vote the citation to somebody like that. We also included staff people who were outstanding in their staff work and gave of themselves to the university. That was very satisfying. I think we voted perhaps a minimum of half a dozen to the maximum of eight or ten citations a year. Often they were awarded at retirement. That was my stint with the Committee on Honors.

LaBerge: Very satisfying, I'd think.

Cheit: Yes, it was.

Dow Chemical Board

LaBerge: How about the Dow Chemical board? Was that in the seventies?

Cheit: Yes, I became involved in Dow Chemical in a most unusual way. It was through Melvin Calvin, who, as all readers of my oral history probably know, won the Nobel Prize for his work on photosynthesis. June and I were friends with the Calvins. We had known them from some other connections, and used to see them occasionally socially. Melvin Calvin ate lunch in the Faculty Club every day of the year that he was here.

One day, Melvin called me and asked me if I would come to see him. I did, and at that time he was in his round laboratory on campus. After he won the Nobel Prize, the university built him that wonderful lab. He had a fireplace in his office. That was one of things that he demanded. Later, when he moved from that building over to Hildebrand Hall they installed a fireplace in his office there. I visited him there and his fireplace was backing up. They had to install an inside fan to get a better draft.

Anyway, Melvin Calvin had been elected to the board of directors of the Dow Chemical Company. He served on that board for many years and I'm sure was extremely valuable to

them for his scientific advice. He said that because of a rule change that I knew about, he suddenly found himself chairman of the audit committee. And he didn't know anything about it.

What that rule was, the New York Stock Exchange said that if your stock was listed on the NYSE, your board had to have an audit committee. Moreover, all of the audit committee members had to be outside directors. But the Dow board was an all inside board except for Melvin Calvin. All the other directors were the key executives of Dow, and some of the family members who were still influential.

Melvin told the Dow board that he would serve as chairman of the one member audit committee, about which he didn't know very much, if he could name a consultant who would sit at his side. They said yes, and so he then asked me if I would be his consultant. [Laughter] This sounded like an interesting adventure, so I then contacted the people in Midland, Michigan, and they made arrangements for me to come to the board meetings. I didn't go to the full board meetings, I just participated in the meetings of the audit committee.

Dow had a fleet of three or four private planes. Because those planes weren't long-range planes, I used to fly from here to either Chicago or Milwaukee, and then they'd meet me to fly up to Midland. Melvin had his own suite in a club there; they took very good care of him. He'd share that suite with me. Then we'd go to the audit committee.

Dow is a rather large enterprise, and at that time, you know, the company had made agent orange so it was a company in the news. I noted this assignment in my annual bio-bib filing, and the *Daily Cal* picked up that I was a consultant at Dow Chemical.

LaBerge: And they were protesting Dow Chemical, the recruiters or something.

Cheit: Yes, right. I was dean at the time, it was 1979. Anyway, I did this for two years until they elected to the board two or three people who were outside directors. It gave me a good inside view of Dow Chemical, which was a very well-run company.

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Cheit: Much of what I did was routine, although there was one unusual aspect. The Foreign Corrupt Practices Act had been passed and signed into law in 1977, and it was still unclear how it was going to be enforced. It is a very important piece of legislation that makes it unlawful for American companies to bribe anyone abroad for advantages of any kind. The law has been interpreted to say that if you give a payment for something that someone was supposed to do anyway, if you operate in a country and they say it will take six months for you to get a telephone, and you manage to bribe the guy and you get the phone tomorrow, that's not unlawful, under the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act. But what is unlawful is to give somebody a bribe to buy your products or your services, to make a judgement decision.

We were concerned because Dow operated all over the world, so we had their people from abroad come in and for the record state what they did. Were any bribes paid to grease the

wheels for routine decisions like getting your goods through customs or for something else? Please explain. Some committee meetings were quite interesting. People would tell us, Well, our man in Jakarta paid a thousand dollars for this service. We required that all of those payments be put on the record so they wouldn't be caught trying to hide something. This was a precautionary move to make sure that they were operating within the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act. Melvin got a great kick out of these meetings--

LaBerge: Because it was not his field.

Cheit: I sat next to him and he would say in a soft voice, How do we handle this? What do we do about this? What do we do about that? I advised him and then he would chair the meeting. It went well. We had a lot of fun and we got through all of the issues. There was never a problem of any kind with any regulatory agency and no fallout about Dow's accounting or reporting. I completed my term and he completed his term. So that was my experience with Dow Chemical.

LaBerge: It strikes me that whenever you talk about something like that or other jobs that you've had, you do make it fun for yourself in some way.

Cheit: Absolutely, that's what life is about, after all, and these were experiences of both learning and fun.

XVI MORE ON THE HAAS SCHOOL OF BUSINESS

The Cheit Endowment for Excellence in Teaching

LaBerge: We'll leave the other boards for another time. How about the endowment and your retirement party, in '82?

Cheit: Well, that's the teaching award. I should mention that. I think I mentioned earlier that when I became dean, one of my goals was to emphasize excellence in our teaching. I created teaching awards and raised the money to support them. I worked with one of my colleagues and some students to develop the criteria.

LaBerge: Which colleague?

Cheit: It was David Alhadeff, an outstanding teacher who later served as associate dean for academic affairs. The criteria we selected noted that this was to be an award for outstanding teaching, it was neither teacher of the year, nor an award for popularity. The winners were selected by the students and they made the awards. The business school has always had very active student organizations, both undergraduate and graduate. There is an umbrella organization called Undergraduate Business Students and the MBA Associates, and then there are perhaps fifty different student organizations here. But those are the umbrella organizations. They used to administer--and still do--administer the awards.

The criteria included serious interest in students as individuals; excellence in preparation; clarity in exposition; knowledge of subject matter; availability to the students. The students organized a spring banquet for the whole school and they presented the awards there. The spring banquet was a social form that outlived its usefulness, because students have all sorts of banquets now. Anyway, I was very pleased when, on my retirement, in 1982 when I retired as dean the first time--.

LaBerge: But you didn't know it was the first time. [laughter]

Cheit: That's right. I was given a retirement party. It was a very splashy party. It was given at Shaklee at 444 Market Street in San Francisco.

LaBerge: Were you on the [Shaklee] board at that time?

Cheit: Yes. Our host was Gary Shansby, who was CEO and chairman of Shaklee. He organized this party in the Shaklee dining room on the thirty-fifth floor of 444 Market. It was for alumni and friends of the school, advisory board members. It was great fun. Good music, wonderful food and many speeches. The dinner raised \$160,000 and they put it in an endowment to finance the teaching awards.

The name of the endowment became the Cheit Endowment for Excellence in Teaching. I had the pleasure of writing the terms of the endowment. The terms are that income from the money is to go to pay the awards for outstanding teaching. While I was dean, by student petition, the awards became known as the Cheit Awards for Outstanding Teaching. I was *very* pleased by that. Students said that I had pushed for these and raised the money, so the executive committee of the business school voted that the awards would be named the Cheit awards. I think the department then voted. One of my great pleasures was to win one of these in 1986. In '86 I won the Cheit Award for Outstanding Teaching.

LaBerge: Was it a surprise?

Cheit: Not entirely. [laughter] But I never knew if it was going to happen because it had to do with how the students regarded your teaching. This award is entirely handled by students. I must say I was happy to have earned it. Then, in 1989, the Academic Senate gave me its Award for Outstanding Teaching.

LaBerge: That's only given to four or five people, isn't it?

Cheit: Yes. There were four when I got it. Those senate awards are quite a deal. The process requires that your department nominate you. It's not a small undertaking. The senate wants your course outlines, considerable information about what you do in the course, a statement about your approach to teaching, and what you do that is unusual or innovative. Then members of the senate committee interview your students. They end up with a really fat dossier, and then make their decision.

The other day I stopped in to ask the financial officer for the business school to see how big the endowment, the Cheit endowment, is now. The principal has grown to about \$865,000.

The Haas School still gives the awards. They've expanded to include awards to faculty who teach in the evening program now, because they can afford to do it. Every spring the dean has a party out here in the plaza of this great building. According to the endowment terms the income goes to support these awards and then any money that is left over, is available to the dean to use to support excellence in education. So the dean can support someone developing a new course, or enriching an existing one.



Earl F. Cheit, Edgar F. Kaiser Professor of Business and Public Policy, 1990.

I'm about to retire from the Shaklee board. It's no longer called Shaklee. That is a long and complicated story, but Shaklee is now a subsidiary of a holding company which is now owned by a Japanese company. I'm chairman of the holding company.

LaBerge: What's the name of the holding company?

Cheit: Its name is YCI. It stands for Yamanouchi Consumer, Inc. They are planning a little dinner, and they asked me what sort of a gift I wanted. [laughter] Typically a retiree is given a piece of Steubenware or something like that. June and I have more of that sort of stuff than we need. In fact, we're giving it away. He doesn't know yet, the president who asked me, because I haven't gotten back to him. But what I will suggest is that the company make a contribution to the Cheit Endowment for Excellence in Education.

LaBerge: That must be so satisfying. To win the teaching award twice means that it wasn't just an accident.

Cheit: It wasn't an accident both times? [laughter] Well, they are two quite different awards. It gives you hope that what you are doing is effective.

The Edgar F. Kaiser Chair

LaBerge: What about the Edgar F. Kaiser Chair? I don't know if we talked about that.

Cheit: We didn't. There isn't a lot to say. Gene Trefethen, who was president of Kaiser Industries, and a good friend of the school, had told me that he and his colleagues would like to establish a chair honoring Edgar. I think earlier in this oral history I mentioned that I knew Edgar and had various dealings with him. He too was a good friend of the school; we have some undergraduate scholarships in his name here.

Gene wanted him honored with an endowed chair. For one reason or another they didn't get around to it, and then Edgar fell ill. His friends then decided that they ought to act and act fast. Gene Trefethen, Cornell Maier and some others at Kaiser contributed money and got some additional funds from the Kaiser Foundation which was set up by Henry's estate.

LaBerge: Kaiser Family Foundation.

Cheit: You now hear it referred to on NPR [National Public Radio], because it now supports health almost exclusively. They all pitched in and raised the money for an endowed chair. At that time, it wasn't a huge amount, something like three or four hundred thousand dollars. That chair now is well over a million.

I'm digressing slightly but I am pleased to see that Janet Yellen now has the Kaiser Chair. She just came back, as you know, from being chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors. And earlier, she served on the Federal Reserve Board. She's now the Edgar F. Kaiser professor at the school.

I was hoping that my colleagues would someday nominate and elect me to the Kaiser Chair because I had a lot to do with the Kaiser Chair being created. [with a big smile] It didn't happen, and it didn't happen, and then finally it happened. I had absolutely nothing to do with it. I didn't do any lobbying. In any case, that would have been counterproductive. It was in 1984 that I was elected to the Kaiser Professorship. I certainly was pleased by that. I was Kaiser Professor until I retired. We have a rule, appropriately, that when you retire you vacate the chair. I became emeritus in '91 when I finished serving as acting dean. Then I gave up the Kaiser Chair.

LaBerge: When you have an endowed chair, that gives you money to do research, or to hire graduate students?

Cheit: Yes. It gives you some summer money to do research or hire research assistants, or you can use it for travel or buying journals, or computer time on specialized databases, and to go to meetings. It's a very nice supplement to your basic professorship.

Computer Technology

LaBerge: Something that's not on our list but I just thought of--when did you learn how to use a computer and how did that change your work and your life?

Cheit: I wasn't one of the early ones. Yes. I'm a very good typist.

LaBerge: You told me that, you learned in high school! [laughter]

Cheit: That's right, I think in junior high school, perhaps. I learned how to type and always have been a good typist. The idea of using a word processor always seemed easy to me, but I think I got my first computer after I left the deanship the second time, about 1992. I have used it really only for email and word processing, and the internet. I use it a lot, for now I find it a very useful research tool. But I haven't made advanced uses of the computer.

I hired a computer specialist from the business school to do some moonlighting and give me lessons. You know, you work at your computer and you realize that you're probably using five percent of its capacity. That bothers me a little. I've done some work with PowerPoint. But I don't feel that I could just whip out a flawless and attractive set of slides now without somebody advising me. I've never created a personal website. The business school may have one--

LaBerge: But it doesn't have a picture. [laughter]

Cheit: It's blank? It has a bear?

LaBerge: If I find it, I'll show it to you. No, it has a picture of some other person.

Cheit: [laughter] Is that right? I've never looked it up.

LaBerge: Has it helped your writing?

Cheit: Yes, a great deal. I do word processing efficiently, and I do a lot of it.

Acting Dean of the Business School, 1990-1991

LaBerge: Why don't we jump to when you were acting dean and how that came about? You were teaching up until then?

Cheit: Right. I think I mentioned that my successor as dean was Ray Miles. He was dean for seven years. So his term went until '90. The committee that was searching for the new dean decided that they'd like to go outside and try to find someone from industry. That's often an issue that professional schools have. Should the dean be someone practicing the profession? Or an academic? People from the professions have come in as dean, for example Ed Penhoet at Public Health.

The faculty had decided that it would like to try to find someone from outside, and preferably somebody from industry. The search dragged on and it didn't come to closure. After Ray Miles had his goodbye parties, the chairman of the faculty committee came to see me.

LaBerge: Who was that?

Cheit: It was Dave Pyle. He asked if I would be willing to be acting dean, serve as dean. I had reservations, but Chang-Lin had just become chancellor and he then leaned on me. That was the beginning of a very warm relationship with Chang-Lin. I told him and Jud King, who was his provost, that I would agree to be acting dean for one year.

I had been thinking about retiring, and agreed to delay it for a year, for which Jud was very grateful. So I agreed to become acting dean. I think it was '90 to '91. Chang-Lin mainly wanted me, not so much to run the school, but to finish the fundraising for the new building.

Fundraising for the New Building

LaBerge: We did talk about that, but that would have been several years.

Cheit: Oh yes. It involved demonstrating to the Haases that we were making progress. June and I were very close to the Haases. Wally bought the [Oakland Athletics] A's, and we used to see them at the games. Wally and Evie would invite us to their box. Our [Cal] basketball seats were together. Wally and Evie and June and I went to the basketball games together. The seat that you sat in, the seat next to you is Evie Haas's seat.¹ Last year she came to several games. I noticed at the end of the season they put name plates on the seats, and her name is right next to mine. We travelled to China together; we were very close to them.

Wally confided to me that he was worried about the funding being finished. Chang-Lin said, "Look, you've got to finish this thing now." We had talked earlier about how it was stalled for a while. I plunged back in, and I told the faculty that my top priority was going to be to finish the business school funding. And so I became acting dean. Ray Miles has this wonderful line that he is the only dean to be succeeded by his predecessor! [laughter] Of course, I was his predecessor, and I was his successor. I was acting dean from '90 to '91.

Other Accomplishments

Cheit: I spent a lot of time on trying to finish the fundraising for the building. There were also some things in the school I managed to get done, I felt good about it.

LaBerge: Good, can you give me some examples?

Cheit: The San Francisco program was made permanent. I'll refer to my notes and comment later, but here let me add a key point about the fundraising. I mentioned earlier that Gene Trefethen and I made another visit to the trustees of the Walter and Elise [Haas] Fund. This resulted in their decision to make a second grant of \$8.75 million—and this assured the success of the project.

¹Dean Cheit gave the interviewer his basketball tickets for a game in January 2001.



Acting Dean Earl Cheit during campaign to raise funds for the Walter A. Haas School of Business, 1991.

VERIP, 1991 ##

LaBerge: You had planned to retire. What did you plan to do with retirement? How were you looking forward to that?

Cheit: At that point, first of all, I had thought about retirement because there is a considerable amount of reading that I needed to do to catch up with important developments in my field. I wanted to become emeritus and teach part time. While he was dean, Ray Miles submitted on my behalf a proposal for phased retirement. The university used to have a phased retirement plan. Under it, in year one you taught full time, and year two, two-thirds time and then half time. I think it was maybe a three, or even a five year phase out. I thought I'd like to do that. That would give me time to do more than just classroom teaching.

So Ray Miles submitted on my behalf a proposal that I go out on phased retirement. But then, I became acting dean and during the time I was acting dean, the phased retirement plan was itself phased out. [laughter] [phone rings; tape interruption]

LaBerge: You were saying that the phased retirement was phased out.

Cheit: Right, you started this train of thought by asking what I had thought about retirement, how I'd use my time. The university offered a plan called VERIP [Voluntary Early Retirement Incentive Program]; over several years there were three VERIPs. I used to joke about that there was the 11-karat gold handshake, a 14-karat, and then a proposed 22-karat that Chang-Lin got down to 17-karat. I took the first VERIP, which was the 11-karat. It was not the sweetest one, to mix a metaphor. It was not the most glittering one, I should say. [laughter]

Twelve of us did. I was the M.C. at the school's retirement party for the twelve of us, and had an opportunity to say a little bit about all these other colleagues. It was at that retirement dinner that the school gave me this Phil Frank drawing of the business school, that was my gift [pointing to wall above his desk]. What I found was, when I left that position, when you become emeritus, people assume you have a lot of time, so there are a lot of things you are asked to do. One of the things that I was asked to do right away was to become an advisor to the Office of the Chancellor, and to Jud [King].

Chang-Lin used me, so I was his advisor for about four or five years. I was on his payroll for a small part of my time. I did some things for the Office of the Chancellor. I put together a difficult review of the law school. These are normally pro bono activities, and given the number of hours I put in on it, it was largely pro bono. I also served as a hearing officer in one particularly sticky faculty case.

Review of the Law School, 1992-1993

LaBerge: Do you want to talk about either of these, the law school review or this case?

Cheit: Well, the case I better not, because all parties are still working for the university. It was a very difficult case. I was the hearing officer and gave the decision, which stuck, by the way. There was a threatened lawsuit, but no further action. I hate to sound so mysterious. It worked out. I realize this all sounds vague, but I had better leave it at that.

LaBerge: No, you're being confidential.

Cheit: The review of the law school was one of these so-called standard reviews. It is supposed to be done every five to seven years; they usually wind up being seven to ten years. The provost wanted a very thorough review of the law school. So we did a very thorough review. Herma [Hill Kay] was already dean of the law school. I admire her very much. The review made some people unhappy, as a good review should, but I think it had a good impact.

We told the school it needed a clinical program, and they've now started a clinical program. I don't want to take too much credit. We had a good committee. But that's one of the things that Jud had me do. I gave assistance and advice on some decisions. I now have to be a bit vague again. But it was this relationship to the Office of the Chancellor, I suspect, that resulted in my becoming athletic director, which is a long story we may start next time.

Executive Education Program

LaBerge: Okay. Do you want to stop there, or should we pick up something else? Executive education? I think maybe we already talked about that.

Cheit: We've talked about my teaching in the school. Through all the time that I was an advisor to the Asia Foundation, I maintained a load of two courses, sometimes three. I always taught one undergraduate course and one MBA course. And whenever possible, I tried to teach in the evening MBA program.

From time to time I used to teach in the executive program. We have a good executive program here, and it is now a lot better than it was then. It was always hard to get faculty members to teach in the executive program. The pay was modest. One of the things I tried to get done as dean and again as acting dean [laughter], was that a criterion of all our new hires, whenever we brought in a new assistant professor, one criterion among the very well-established other criteria ought to be, does he or she have the capacity to teach in an executive program, either now, or the capacity to grow into someone who can teach executives? The

theory of a professional school is that you're creating knowledge, you're doing research and creating knowledge that is useful to practitioners in your profession.

We ought to be leading practice. In truth, I think, in many ways we have followed practice. Practice moves very, very fast. Professors ought to be teaching and learning from executives. So I always felt that it was important that I teach in the executive program.

Sometimes when I was very busy with other things, I would just give the opening session of our one-month residential program. And I would do an overall session on the world economy, where it's been and how we got to our present state and where I thought it was going. I would sometimes do one or two more sessions. In executive programs they don't wait until the end of the year for ratings. Every class session is evaluated. So when you are invited back, that means that they didn't want to throw stones at you. I also used to teach executives at other times and places. IBM invited me to come to their headquarters right outside of New York; I've taught in the Stanford program once or twice. It's a good way to meet executives, inform your teaching at the school and help pay the electricity bill.

The Andersen Executive Program, 1975-2000

Cheit: Then I developed a relationship with Arthur Andersen.

LaBerge: *The* Arthur Andersen, as opposed to the company?

Cheit: No, the company. *The* Arthur Andersen Company; it's actually a partnership. In 1975, they started an executive program and asked me to give one talk in it, and I did. It was run by the dean of the business school at the University of Chicago, a man by the name of Sidney Davidson, an outstanding dean and a professor of accounting who is still alive and going strong.

I gave a talk in that program, and they invited me the next year. It met in the summer. The program grew because it was successful. About 1982, about the time when I was leaving the deanship, Sidney Davidson retired. We used to call him dean of the Arthur Andersen program, and they asked me to become "dean" of that program. Being "dean," and I put that in quotation marks, meant shaping the program with an advisory committee, and teaching in the program, and recruiting the faculty. It was a wonderful summer program. I did that for twenty years, well, let's see, not quite twenty years. I retired as dean of that program in '98.

LaBerge: Does that mean you were in Chicago for the month?

Cheit: No, the program met all over the world. This summer is the first summer I have not taught in that program since 1975. I had so many things going on this summer that I just couldn't do it. I also began to consider that I should make way for younger people.

The program, on my recommendation, was taken over by a faculty member from the University of Chicago, a political scientist by the name of Marvin Zonis, a very able man. The program met last week in Barcelona, I was supposed to do two sessions in Barcelona, but I couldn't. Last year I taught in Berlin. The program met in Vancouver; and it met in Noordwijk, a town right outside of Amsterdam on the North Sea. We met for several years in Noordwijk, people liked it.

My assignment when I was dean of that program was to put together the best business school in the world. The theme was political economy, in fact I brought in two of our Ph.D.s, Shan Wei-Jan, who is now in Hong Kong, and Hiro Takauchi, who is now back in Japan as dean of a business school. He was at Hitotabachi. He's the dean of a new school in Japan. I brought them in. I used to use our own faculty and faculty from around the country and around the world.

It was an excellent program because the intellectual challenge and stimulation was just enormous. These people are the best. I used to use Ezra Solomon a lot, an economist from Stanford. I would say in the last ten years, most of my executive education work has been in that program. I no longer teach in our program, or the AEP, the Andersen Executive Program.

LaBerge: Do you have something else to add?

Cheit: I would just add that teaching executives is challenging, because they are very demanding. It taught me a lot about how to present. To any young academic who reads this, I would say if you are in a field where executive education is accessible to you, especially in engineering and business and law, it is extremely valuable to work in it.

Goals for Second Term as Dean

[Interview 21: August 2, 2001] ##

LaBerge: Once before when we were talking about the goals for your second term as dean, you mentioned just a few things, and I think you've thought about it a little bit more.

Cheit: I have, and you caught me a little by surprise—which you do often actually. But I went back and looked in my files and there were several things that I thought that I ought to mention. As to goals, I had laid out to the faculty three broad goals. I mentioned one of them earlier, namely to finish the fundraising for the building.

Then secondly, to obtain and hold open some faculty positions for the permanent dean. That sounds sort of bureaucratic looking now at it ten years later, but one of the best things that an acting dean can do for a permanent successor is to create some flexibility for him. I retained and obtained some faculty positions that I held open so that he could recruit.

Then, third, I started a strategic planning process for the school. I set it up in a way that it was designed to identify some strategic directions for the school, but to remain impressionable for the new dean to shape. We weren't laying out a path that he had to follow. The man who ran that planning process, Michael Katz, was in the newspaper recently because he has just become the chief economist for the [United States] Justice Department. He'll be going on leave. He and others did a very good job.

So when Bill Hasler came, there was a planning process underway that was still malleable, and that he could then take over and he did. Under his leadership the faculty identified the three initiatives that the school is pursuing some nine years later: entrepreneurship, management of technology, and internationalizing the curriculum.

Michael Milken's Gift in Question

Cheit: Now I should mention here that there were a couple of incidents during that year that I think might be interesting to readers of this oral history. Raymond Miles got a gift for a million dollars to get the early planning work on the new building underway. The gift came from a very famous, and then later notorious, alumnus, Michael Milken. Michael Milken earned his undergraduate degree here, he got an MBA at Wharton. I had not met him before, but I did while I was acting dean. He came to visit me once.

LaBerge: Was this before he became infamous?

Cheit: He was under investigation at that time, but nothing had been resolved. He came to see me because he was visiting the campus. His son was shopping around for undergraduate colleges. He stopped by to see me and we had a very nice visit. He is extremely smart, and he said to me, "It's ironic the way fate works, but I could have built this whole building by myself without any difficulty." It was just fifty-five million. Given the situation now, we didn't talk about another gift; he didn't offer and I didn't ask. We had a very pleasant visit, and we said we'd stay in touch.

Then, quite independently of his visit, but related to his gift, I had a visit from two people who were and are very good friends of mine, Linda Rawlings and her husband Ken Rawlings. Both are alums of the school.

LaBerge: And that's how you knew them?

Cheit: Yes. They were active alums and very loyal to the school. They went into business and became successful with Otis Spunkmeyer cookies. They have since sold the company. Linda and I have stayed in close touch. She's on the Cal Performances Board. She's a dancer, and very interested in the arts. Until very recently she had her own dance company in San Francisco.

Ken and Linda came to see me, and Ken said that he knew that we were looking to him to make a significant gift for the building, as we were. He was capable of making a seven figure gift. He had an attachment to the school beyond the fact that he was an alum because a member of his family, an aunt I think, with whom he was very close, worked in the school for many years for Grether, a woman by the name of Vera Mae Twist. A wonderful woman, long-time employee of the school. So he had more than just one connection to the school, both he and his wife.

Anyway, Ken sat down across the desk from me, and they said that they had come to ask that I give that Milken gift back.

LaBerge: How much was it?

Cheit: A million dollars. There followed two or three meetings of several hours each in which we went through the issue in laborious detail.

LaBerge: We haven't said on the tape what the issue was.

Cheit: Milken never went to trial. He was indicted and he copped a plea. He admitted committing some felonies, the main one was parking stock illegally. Most people who knew him thought that he was protecting Lowell, his brother. Lowell was not charged.

At the time, several members of our finance faculty, people very widely known around the country, felt that Milken committed no crime. They thought he made a huge mistake by admitting that he had committed a crime. There were a lot of people in the business community who felt that through his invention of junk bonds--he was the first person, you know, to come up with high-risk, high-yield bonds--that he helped create a renaissance in American business. His felony conviction was something that a lot of people felt was simply not warranted.

But leaving that aside, totally aside, I tried to explain--unsuccessfully I should say, why one couldn't return a gift like this. Nothing was named for him; he didn't ask anything of us; we don't do character studies of our alums; and that there was no basis for returning this gift. Ken was very disappointed, and we were estranged for a while. We were courteous but cool when we passed. He never made a big contribution to the building, and not until I became interim athletic director did I have contact with him again.

Now we're quite friendly, we see each other. His season tickets to the basketball games are close to mine. I see him at every game. Just as Evie Haas sits on one side, Ken Rawlings has tickets on the other side.

LaBerge: Right next to you?

Cheit: Right. He has several tickets. He is often a couple of seats away, or near me in the row behind mine. We're good friends now, but we've never discussed it anymore. I consulted a lot of people about that.

LaBerge: People on campus?

Cheit: Both. I talked to Ray Miles, first of all, about the gift itself. I talked to Roger Heyns, who was a wise man about these things. I consulted some other people on the campus for their views about this. There wasn't really a basis for giving the money back.

LaBerge: Did anybody from the university administration, like the Office of the President, say anything to you, or the chancellor?

Cheit: No, never. That was one of the incidents of my acting deanship.

Affidavit on Behalf of Harvard Business School

LaBerge: You had one other about a case at Harvard.

Cheit: That was interesting. In 1976, the general counsel of Harvard, whose name I've forgotten, called me because they had retained a San Francisco firm to defend Harvard.

LaBerge: Do you know what the firm was?

Cheit: Yes, I looked it up. It was McCutchen, Doyle, Brown and Enersen. A Harvard professor did a case study of a San Francisco company. The companies are kept anonymous in case studies, they're called Company X or Sunshine Company. I think the company was actually PG&E. The case study showed difficulties, I think it was in the purchasing department or materials acquisition or whatever they called it.

Unrelated to the study, a supervisor in that department was fired. He believed that if what the Harvard researcher had in his notes could be uncovered, it would be shown that he shouldn't have been fired. I have no idea what the merits of his issue were. His lawyer filed a suit to compel the Harvard professor to make his case notes available. Harvard came to me--and I don't know how many other people--and asked me if I would testify in support of keeping a professor's research notes confidential.

LaBerge: It was a First Amendment issue or something else?

Cheit: No, it wasn't a First Amendment case. I never read the full brief, but I saw the sketch of the argument. Essentially, the argument was that researchers promised confidentiality, and they could only do this kind of work if those promises could be kept. It would undermine their

ability to do case studies. I did give testimony about the need for researchers to keep their promise of confidentiality in an affidavit on behalf of Harvard.

LaBerge: Is that essentially what you said?

Cheit: Yes. The judge held for Harvard. The McCutchen lawyer wrote to me that "Judge Renfrew made repeated reference to the affidavits and specifically mentioned yours." Since I spent considerable time on this, I was rather satisfied with the outcome.

Activities after the Deanship

LaBerge: The last time we talked you mentioned that you wanted to have phased retirement, but it didn't quite happen that way. What were your academic projects after retirement?

Cheit: Well, I mentioned that I was going to teach and phase out. Then the phased retirement plan was ended. So I didn't teach regularly in the business school, and I've mentioned earlier that I did teach in the executive program.

I still had some doctoral students who finished their work with me. Three of them, as a matter of fact. Two of them produced books. Gary Matkin produced a very good book on technology transfer in universities. One of them sent me a copy of his book that I haven't yet acknowledged. There were three doctoral candidates that I worked with.

I was working on an article on the state of the field, that I did for a volume published by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. It was the basis for lectures I gave for an AAAS and Chinese Academy of Social Sciences conference in China. I gave a lecture to the Fromm Institute, and then they invited me to start teaching there. I taught there one semester, which I really enjoyed. I gave a course called "Perspectives on the Global Economy," which they asked me to continue offering. I was tempted, but declined. It was the problem of driving all the way over to USF [University of San Francisco] and back, it became a little burdensome.

Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference, 1992

Cheit: I was still doing things for the Asia Foundation. I was still involved with the Pacific Economic Outlook Project and was starting a project for them involving the Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference. It's a group whose members represent twenty-three countries--academics, business people, and government people. It's a fairly influential group.

The PECC was going to be meeting in San Francisco in 1992. I was given the assignment of preparing the declaration that came out of that conference, something called the San Francisco declaration, sounds a bit grand, doesn't it? [laughter] The San Francisco declaration was to be on creating an open region in the Pacific. I'm pointing here toward the Pacific area on this big map on my wall. The idea was that since a free trade agreement in the Pacific was at that time and even now, not possible, could the countries create something that they wanted to call an "open region"?

Open Regionalism and GATT Watch

Cheit: An open region was something that sounded almost like a contradiction in terms. If it is a defined region, how could it be open? What were the characteristics of an open region? So I started a seminar in the Asia Foundation, a seminar on "open regionalism." I invited people to analyze and discuss what they thought an open region was.

LaBerge: Did you coin that phrase?

Cheit: I don't think I can take credit for it, no. Maybe I deserve some credit for it but I will not claim it. We had a seminar on open regionalism and had some thoughtful presentations by Larry Krause, who is now emeritus from UCSD; Janet Yellen of our faculty participated; we had people from Stanford, Lew Coleman who was then vice president of the Bank of America, now head of the Packard Foundation. There were about fifteen or twenty people, and they came from all around to this seminar on open regionalism. We met about six or seven times, and out of those meetings I produced a draft document of the San Francisco declaration. At that time, there were maybe eighteen economies involved, and it had to be vetted and agreed to by eighteen different delegations. That was before email, this was by fax.

Anyway, after much back and forth drafting, we produced a San Francisco declaration that was adopted by these twenty-some countries, and it was adopted in September, 1992. That took a lot of my time. I then wrote a piece for the *California Management Review* on the San Francisco declaration and why I thought it was important.

Interestingly enough, there is a government organization in the Pacific called APEC. Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, it's called. APEC has adopted as a concept under which it does its work, open regionalism. So we felt that we had considerable influence.

Now, back to your question, what was I working on? That's one of the things I worked on, and then I did other things at the Asia Foundation. The World Trade Organization at that time was called GATT. And a new GATT round was under way. I ran a seminar at the Asia Foundation called GATT Watch. We met about every six weeks to follow the developments in the negotiations of the new round. That was very interesting, we did that for about a year and a half. Those are the things I worked on as I shifted to emeritus status.

LaBerge: What about your own writing? Or is that covered?

Cheit: I think we've covered everything I did at that time.

Activities on Campus

LaBerge: You remained active in campus life?

Cheit: Yes, I did remain active in campus life.

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LaBerge: Tell me what you were still doing on campus.

Cheit: I think I mentioned that I was still an active member of the UC Press' board of control. I was helping Cal Performances organize a board of trustees. As the chancellor and the vice chancellor's advisor, I was working on the review of the law school, I think we talked about that. I was a hearing officer. I was a trustee of the UC Berkeley Foundation.

I was on several committees. I was on a committee to try to get permission for the law school to proceed with what was at that time called Manville Hall. It's now called Simon Hall. They wanted to renovate it, and use it for offices. But the approval process in the university was very laborious. Jesse Choper, former dean at the law school, was representing the law school's case there. He asked me if I'd come on that committee and help. He was a little grumpy at me at the time because I had just done this law school review. Anyway, I helped him, I think it's fair to say with some heavy lifting, getting through the process for approval to let them do what they wanted to do with Manville Hall.

I continued to be active in fundraising for the Haas Pavilion, and in the business school, and Cal Performances. I was elected to the Berkeley Fellows, and then put on their nominating committee, on which I'm now active. Then I was on several search committees, including committees for the vice chancellor for development and head of the foundation. That's when Dan Mote left to become president of the University of Maryland. I was on the search committee for dean of the business school, and I was on the search committee for athletic director.

LaBerge: When you were on that search committee, was that when you became athletic director?

Cheit: No, it was later. Also I should mention that I am now serving on a committee to advise the chancellor's office as the campus prepares for its review by the Western Association of Colleges and Universities.

Reflections on Fundraising

LaBerge: Before we go into your term as athletic director--you did a lot of fundraising. And still you make and keep friends, people don't run away when you come to them, thinking you're going to be asking for money!

Cheit: [laughter] You sometimes worry when you see them crossing the street, that they're avoiding you.

LaBerge: Exactly, I'm sure. How did you do that?

Cheit: Well, I don't know. First of all, I rather like it. I enjoy fundraising. If you believe in what you are presenting, then you do it. You have to be able to take rejection, and I was rejected on the Haas Pavilion. I won't mention names here, because these are friends of mine. I was on a group called the executive committee to raise money for the Haas Pavilion. They went over the list, and they gave me five or six names. They're all friends of mine. For some of them, it was a pleasure. For example, they gave me Leo Helzel, a colleague here at the business school. A very generous man. I went to see Leo and he said of course, and then we kind of haggled back and forth. I asked him for a higher figure than I think he had in mind, but he was generous.

And they gave me Clancy Houghton, who is an alumnus, and I think as you know was our first head of the development council, a very loyal alumnus of the business school and someone who likes athletics. He was very responsive. I won't mention a couple of names that are old friends of mine and were friends of Wally's who stiffed me in a nice way. But that's the way it works.

The newspapers just carried a story about Katharine Graham's death. Katharine Graham was related to the Haases and they were good friends. Anyway, Wally J. put the arm on her for the Haas Pavilion. I helped him do a little drafting of his letter. He succeeded, not as much as he had hoped, but she did come through.

LaBerge: Since she's not from this campus or California, that's something.

Cheit: She cared a lot about Walter Haas. Yes, I did a lot of fundraising, and did it for the business school, for Cal Performances, for Mills College, and still do. Some of what's called fundraising is really cultivation. One of the things I do is to continue what Mike Chetkovich started in the business school--a gathering called the Old Blues Lunch. It was the lunch that he gave every year for people who were graduates of the old College of Commerce, which

ceased to exist in 1946. It's a wonderful luncheon that Mike paid for. Then when Mike died, others like Leo Helzel and Clancy Houghton have taken over its support.

LaBerge: You were just on the phone about that.

Cheit: Yes. I have become the host since Mike Chetkovich's death. I run that luncheon. On December 3, about ninety to a hundred people will come to that luncheon. Nobody asks them for money, they get a nice lunch, they meet their friends. We have a speaker about research at the school and a report from the dean. This group includes some generous donors.

LaBerge: Rudolph Peterson, Walter Hoadley?

Cheit: Yes. Hoadley doesn't come anymore and Rudy didn't come this last year because he was away. Peter Haas comes. It's a great group. In short, I enjoy fundraising because I've felt very strongly about the organizations that I was raising money for.

LaBerge: It sounds like you have to believe in it, but you sort of have to have a personality for it, too, don't you think?

Cheit: Perhaps. Not everybody takes to it, that's true.



Interim Athletic Director Earl Cheit congratulating Cal football coach Keith Gilbertson on winning the Big Game, November 1993.

XVII INTERIM ATHLETIC DIRECTOR, 1993-1994

Early Involvement with Sports

LaBerge: This isn't quite a segue, but you were raising money for the Haas Pavilion, but also you were interim athletic director. Why don't you tell me how that came about, and your involvement with sports. Why don't we just start with that?

Cheit: My involvement with sports? Okay. I was very involved in sports in high school. I played football and basketball in Hague High School. It was six-man football, we didn't have enough players for eleven-man football. There were only about fifty students in the whole high school. Six-man football was interesting, because you have to lateral before you cross the line of scrimmage. There are three linemen and three in the backfield. I played basketball in high school; we even went to the state tournament one year. We didn't win. When I went to the University of Minnesota, I realized I wasn't good enough to play intercollegiate sports. But I did work as a referee for the intramural program. So I was close to it, and I did some sports writing for the *Minnesota Daily*.

LaBerge: You kind of wanted to do that for your job, didn't you?

Cheit: That's right. At one time I hoped for it. Then I worked as a copy boy for the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*. The people there said to aim for something else, they discouraged me. [laughter] At any rate, when I came to Berkeley, we started buying season tickets to basketball and football. I don't know if it was the first year, because we had four small children.

LaBerge: That means your wife likes sports, too.

Cheit: She does, she went to all the games and enjoyed them. But less so in recent years as her vision has deteriorated. She can't see the action anymore. We are long-time season ticket holders.

Executive Vice Chancellor's Role

Cheit: When I was dean Wally Haas and Roger Heyns asked me to chair the faculty and staff part of the Cal Sports '80s campaign, which I did. When I became executive vice chancellor, intercollegiate athletics reported to me, Pete Newell reported to me. I got to know him very well and got to know the athletic program very well. There were a lot of things that happened at that time.

One of the things I got involved with was a controversy over the first basketball player who wore an Afro hairdo. He was a center by the name of Bob Presley. We had a good basketball coach, Rene Herrerias, who was successful. Rene had grooming rules, and he and Presley had a collision. This was about 1966, in the midst of changing styles and attitudes. My assistant as executive vice chancellor was Don Hopkins, a very able man who became Ron Dellums' key assistant after Dellums went to the Congress. A terrific person, Don saw this problem and he, being black, was in very close touch with the black students. He told me that we should try to avoid a public controversy if at all possible. I tried to mediate it with Pete, and then with Rene and Bob Presley. I'd say with only a modest amount of success.

I oversaw the athletic budget. When I became vice chancellor, various friends of mine complained about a sign in the stadium advertising Standard of California. I was needled by academic colleagues who go to football games. So I went to see our athletic director.

LaBerge: You got needled because there was only one? Or there shouldn't be any?

Cheit: There shouldn't be any. I said, how much do we get for that sign? They told me, I can't remember, but my recollection was that it was a very small amount of money. It was a few thousand dollars a year. So I said, take it down and I will increase your budget by that amount. And they took it down. You ask me, what are my achievements? I felt, Wow, I made policy. [laughter]

I'll digress here for a second. There's a wonderful story by a writer, John Bartlow Martin. He was ambassador in the Dominican Republic. In his autobiography he tells about how he was once with President Kennedy, and some report about American policy in the Caribbean had just been completed, and the big argument was, should it be released on Saturday or should it be released on Monday? After a lot of argument back and forth, President Kennedy said Monday, and then he said, "I've made a decision, I was actually able to decide something!" [laughter] Well, that's sort of how I felt about that sign. Anyway, today they have to depend so heavily for revenue, I don't know when the last time was you went to a football game, but the stadium is plastered with signs.

LaBerge: You talked earlier about this, having someone sponsoring the teams, Nike or someone, having the logos or something?

Cheit: That's become an issue because of concerns about labor standards abroad.

But in further answer to your question, I have been involved here with sports, a lot. I was on the A.D. search committee that brought Bob Bockrath here. He came after Dave Maggard left to go to the University of Miami.

The Citrus Bowl, 1992

LaBerge: What year are we talking about? •

Cheit: It was probably '91, I say that with a little bit of a rising inflection because I'm not positive. Cal had a very successful football coach, Bruce Snyder, and the team went to the Citrus Bowl in Orlando. June and I went to the game. It was great fun because Cal played Clemson, and Clemson was so confident. There were parties, and the Clemson people were condescending, they were feeling sorry for us. Our team clobbered them.

The Bowl event concludes in a town square. It's New Year's Day. People gather, the bands are playing, and the students are milling, and the drunks are stumbling. [laughter] It's a wonderful, chaotic scene. They present the trophy there. Up on a stage there is the commissioner, the athletic director, Bockrath, Chang-Lin, the new chancellor, and Bruce Snyder, whose team went 9 and 2, and had just smashed Clemson. There were all these rumors that he was going to go to Arizona State.

The Cal band and many students were there chanting, "Don't go Bruce, Don't go Bruce!" We were there, June and I and our daughter [Julie] and her husband who came from New York to the game as our guests. Chang-Lin got up to say it was a great victory, and next year will be the same. Then Bruce Snyder gave his talk, and said that the team played well, and that we had a great season.

When he was done, June said to me, "Well, he's leaving." I said, "What do you mean he's leaving? He didn't say he's leaving." She said, "Didn't you hear what he said? He did not talk about the future." She is smarter than I am.

LaBerge: Say that again. [laughter]

Cheit: She is smarter than I am, I will say it again. [laughter] Of course, he *was* leaving.

There is one other thing I should say before I recall the telephone call from Chang-Lin. That is that I realized, in talking to Wally Haas and to Chang-Lin, that they didn't know each other. I told them I would get them together. I arranged a luncheon in the Family Club where I was a member.

LaBerge: In San Francisco?

Aside on Club Memberships

Cheit: In San Francisco, the Family has a great building in San Francisco. Walter Haas, Sr. put me up for membership. This is a different story that I don't want to get into now. When I became dean, I had been asked to become a member of the Bohemian Club.

LaBerge: Who asked you? Or is that a secret?

Cheit: No, it's not secret. It was somebody from their membership committee. I realized that in some ways it's very honorific. A lot of people wait for years to get into the club. I've been to the Bohemian Club many times, and it's a nice place. But I was reluctant.

Accurately or inaccurately, I had been told there was a history of less than enthusiastic reception to Jews and certainly to blacks, and I felt uncomfortable. I tried hard not to be utterly graceless, but I decided not to become a member of the Bohemian Club. I'm sure a club member reading this today would say it was wrong then and it's certainly wrong now. But rightly or wrongly, that was my decision.

I made the decision to join the Family, because the Family had some people who at one time either left or were rejected by the Bohemian Club. It had the reputation and the feeling of being much more open. I used to go there, I enjoyed the Family.

LaBerge: What was there to do there?

Cheit: Well, the Family has a great bar. You have drinks with your friends. They serve a luncheon and dinner. People go there to play cards or dominoes after lunch and they sit around and gas. They also had a farm, the Family farm down on the Peninsula. There's an encampment in the summer. They have many social activities, a very active dramatic program, they had a swinging jazz band. People urged me to play my cornet in their Dixieland band. But by this time my lip wasn't in good enough shape. At the Family farm, I belonged to the same cabin as Wally Haas.

Arranging a Meeting for Wally Haas and Chang-Lin Tien, 1990

LaBerge: So you had lunch--I got you off on this.

Cheit: You did. So I picked up Chang-Lin, we drove over to have lunch with Wally. I introduced them, and they just hit it off famously. They just really liked each other. If you knew both of these people, you would anticipate it. It was a sparkling luncheon. We talked about a lot of things. I just looked up the date. It was September 4, 1990, when that lunch happened. When

the lunch was ending, we were getting up to go, Wally said to Chang-Lin, "Chang-Lin, if you're ever serious about building a new basketball arena, you can count on me for ten million dollars." I could see Chang-Lin's eyes light up and of course, that's what Wally gave to the Haas Pavilion.

LaBerge: How soon after that did the Haas Pavilion get started?

Cheit: Well, it got started about two years after that, a little more than two years.

Bob Bockrath

Cheit: Bob Bockrath suddenly resigned as athletic director. He had done a lot of things organizationally. He merged the men's and women's departments. That was a mess, you know, it was difficult, and lawsuits followed. I've never second-guessed him about this; it was a difficult job and he did it. Whether it could have been done better, I certainly am not going to second-guess. I can't remember now, when, but he suddenly announced he had accepted the A.D. job at Texas Tech. He'd only been here a few years; it was a short time. It was kind of embarrassing. A lot of people felt, Texas Tech? That's a big step down, why is he leaving us?

I had a good talk with him before he left. Texas Tech took care of his wife's job. His wife was a public school teacher. When he interviewed there he said he'd come but his wife was a teacher and needed a job. The A.D. picked up the phone and called the superintendent of schools and said, okay, we got her a job. That was the influence they had in athletics. Anyway, he was leaving. People were grumpy at him. They were grumpy at him for what he did and grumpy at him for leaving, you know? [laughter]

Chancellor's Surprise Choice for A.D., 1993

Cheit: One day, Chang-Lin called me. It was probably in July, maybe early August. He called and he asked me, could I come over and see him about athletics?

LaBerge: This was 1993?

Cheit: Yes. We made a date. I told June, Chang-Lin probably wants me to suggest names for the search committee. Since I was on the last search committee, he probably doesn't want me on this one. So I made a list of people. I wanted to be prepared for the meeting. I went to see Chang-Lin. I just love that man. We had a warm relationship. He said, Well, Budd, we've got this problem because Bockrath's leaving. He then did a clever thing, deductively going down

the list. [laughter] He said, "We need to appoint a search committee, and I am going to do that."

I was starting to reach in my pocket for my list of names and he said, "But, before that, we need somebody to take over there." He said, "Now, the thing is we want somebody who knows something about athletics, but himself is not a candidate for the job. I have a theory that it is not good to put someone who is an associate A.D. in that job--.

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LaBerge: And he came up with one name.

Cheit: Believe it or not, I still didn't see what was coming. And I said, "Yes." And he said, "It's yours. It's you!"

LaBerge: I bet your wife did! [laughter]

Cheit: I said, "Chang-Lin, are you serious?" He said, "Yes, I'd like you to be interim A.D." I said I'd think about it. I went home and told June and she had one reaction. She said, "Are you crazy?" I told her that it appealed to me. Anyway, I went back and I said to him, "Well, I'll do it but I have to know if there are any time bombs, anything there I should know about." He said, "No, they have a budget problem but that's not new." He said there's one thing--under the new rule by the Office of the President, they got more courtesy cars than they should have. The car dealers, in exchange either for tickets or advertising, give cars for use by athletic department officials. The A.D. had a car, which I did not use.

LaBerge: They have for their personal use or just--.

Cheit: Both. They just use a car. One of the things I had to do was take away several cars from people, which I did. So then I became A.D. I think the appointment became effective September first. June and I were in New York and we were faxing back and forth draft copies of the press release. It was late August, I think. I made some corrections on the press release, and they announced that as of September 1 that I was the interim A.D.

Salary Decision

LaBerge: What did you have to juggle to do that?

Cheit: This time I was already emeritus, but I did have to juggle some things in my life. I mentioned earlier some of the things I was doing at the Asia Foundation and here. Anyway, I had a good time as A.D. I met with everybody when I started work, the staff and the coaches. I told them that I was not a candidate for the job, that I was not going to try to make myself a sports

personality, and therefore that I wasn't going to play a big public role--I sent my associate A.D.s to Pac-10 meetings and NCAA meetings, thinking that would help them develop. Finally, I told the coaches and the staff I was serving as A.D. for one dollar. I have this framed dollar on my wall, a framed check.

LaBerge: How did that agreement come about?

Cheit: Well, Dan Boggan was my immediate boss. He was the vice chancellor for business. After I was on the job he said, "You know, we never discussed pay. You never discussed with Chang-Lin how much you were going to get paid." I said, "I know exactly how much I want," and I told him one dollar. He was thrilled. [laughter] I helped the budget. He was a very good boss, I liked him a lot.

I'll say something about my framed dollar. They gave it to me at my going away party, and they had a hell of a time getting a one dollar check. The university system was set up so it deducted something. They had to jump through several hoops but they finally got a check for exactly one dollar, which I have framed.

LaBerge: They probably wanted to take your taxes out of it.

Cheit: There were some deductions, and then the question was how big--. Was it a \$1.07, or \$1.11? They framed it beautifully for me, and I was very grateful for that.

Getting to Know the Department

Cheit: One of the first things I did was ask everyone what was on their agenda, what were the three most important things they were working on and how much of it could we get done by the time there was a permanent A.D.? I was not on the search committee. The search committee found John Kasser and his name was announced in late December. He didn't come aboard until early in the new year. I really enjoyed the people in the department. My two associate A.D.s, Chris Dawson and Bob Driscoll, were able people.

We had gratifying success in basketball and football. I used to go to practice, particularly football practice, to watch. I wanted to see how the coaches dealt with the players. Keith Gilbertson was the football coach then, and I developed affection for him. I thought he was a good coach, although that wasn't the general opinion.

I also used to read very carefully what the coaches said in the press after the games. In my view, a college coach should not publicly criticize a student player. You might say, we fell short of our objectives but you don't say, so-and-so isn't very good, or didn't play well. The coaches were good. I used to compliment them on their statements to the press. That was true of Todd Bozeman who was then basketball coach.

We made progress on several things. One is the gender equity report that became the basis of how gender equity in athletics is handled here. It was done while I was A.D. Chris Dawson was the one who was leading it. I used a device that in the business school we called a "town meeting." Everyone was invited to a meeting. The coaches came. We had the meeting in the Hall of Fame room in the stadium. We had circulated the draft of the gender equity report while it was still malleable. We had two of these sessions and as a result produced a very good report. We also started the process for the Haas Pavilion. We engaged Ellerbe Becket, a Minneapolis, Minnesota, architectural firm to do the first studies on expanding Harmon Gym. So in answer to your question of when did the Haas Pavilion start, that's when the first work started.

Big Game, 1993

Cheit: There were some moments of great fun during my term. One was the Big Game. Big Game was at Stanford, and Stanford had just re-hired Bill Walsh. He'd left the Forty-Niners and then went into broadcasting and then Stanford. When he came back to Stanford, it was kind of like the second coming. He was installed with a huge press conference in the basketball arena. The papers always referred to him as the football genius. So, we went down there and Cal clobbered Stanford. The score was 46-17!

LaBerge: This was not "the play"?

Cheit: No, this was the Big Game on November 20, 1993. Cal dominated play. Needless to say, I was rather pleased. We were in the visiting A.D.'s box and Wally and Evie Haas were there with us, as was Dan Boggan. We had a big party afterward.

LaBerge: Down there?

Cheit: Down there. Wally and Evie had a house down in Atherton. We went to their house and had a big party afterwards. Roger Heyns was there, and Esther, and Chang-Lin, of course.

The next day in the press, I was struck by how Bill Walsh described the performance of his players. He did something that I used to compliment our coaches for not doing. That is, being critical of people by name. That really surprised me and I tried to drive that object lesson home to our coaches again.

The Alamo Bowl, 1993

Cheit: Finally, Cal was invited to play in the Alamo Bowl. There are a couple of stories about that Bowl game. The Bowl game would pay us about \$750,000, not as much as the Citrus Bowl, which I think was about a million or a million two. We had to sell a certain number of tickets.

But in meeting with the staff, I learned that the department had lost money on the Citrus Bowl. And it was not a small amount. So I set up a Bowl Committee, led by Bob Driscoll. Its primary objective was to make sure, in fact, I gave the firmest orders, that we *not* lose money on the Alamo Bowl; that we end in the black.

LaBerge: Did you?

Cheit: We did. A careful audit after the Citrus Bowl showed there were cases of champagne sent to coaches' rooms, and other things done that I decided were not going to happen again. We had the hotel remove the long-distance capability from all the rooms that the players were in because the long-distance bill after the Citrus Bowl was huge. Players could make a local call, but they couldn't make a long distance call.

Then, the Cal band of course had to come. By this time, the Cal band had been moved organizationally. Student Musical Activities had been under the ASUC. It had been neglected and Rod Park, the executive vice chancellor under Mike Heyman, decided that the only well-administered place that could provide administrative oversight for the Cal band, was Cal Performances. Getting money for the Cal band to go to the Alamo Bowl was the obligation of Robert Cole. And I was chairman of his advisory committee. At a famous meeting in the athletic department conference room, Robert Cole and Sheri Showalter, his business manager, came to get the money for the Cal band. I was at the other side of the table trying to have this Bowl game end in the black. We bargained and we bargained some more. To its credit the band did a lot of things to cut expenses. They agreed that if I would send the whole band, they would go home the night of the game. It was a New Year's Eve game. They would not stay over--one less night in the hotel. I said okay, and authorized the money to the Cal band.

At the game Cal beat Iowa handily. It was an entertaining game. June and I went down a couple days early and went to a series of parties, our son David joined us. The Iowa people, these Midwest people, were delighted to be in warm weather, which I really related to as a former Minnesotan. They were nice people. I was in the A.D.'s box, and the next box was the A.D. of the opposing team. By the third quarter the Iowa box was virtually empty, because Cal was way ahead. [laughter] It was a night game. Everyone came back to the hotel, I think it was the Hyatt.

LaBerge: Let's say where it is.

Cheit: This is in San Antonio, this is the Alamo Bowl played in the Alamo Dome. They all came back to the hotel, hundreds of people hanging from the balconies in this great atrium. People

were yelling, "Where's the Cal band? Where's the Cal band?" [laughter] I hid under my upturned collar, cringing because I was responsible for no Cal band. People sang Cal songs. Meanwhile, the Cal band was flying home in the chartered plane. In my files somewhere, I have the final audit report on the Alamo Bowl. We ended in the black by about \$700. We did *not* lose money on the Alamo Bowl.

June and I flew home with the team. I learned of a team tradition: the team seniors sit in first class. The underclassmen, and the coaches, and the A.D. and everybody else sits in economy. I really liked that. We flew home and had a riotous time. Various coaches, wives, little babies and boosters. That was also part of the negotiation, how many family members could come on the plane.

Cal Athletics responded generously to me. The department gave me the framed \$1 check; the Bear Backers gave me the Helmet Award which they give to someone they select for their contribution to Cal Athletics. And the Big C Society inducted me as an honorary member. I can now wear a letter jacket. But most important, the people moved ahead on the projects I mentioned earlier.

Idealism of the Coaches

LaBerge: I'm looking at the time. Do you need to stop?

Cheit: Let's finish athletics. There are a couple more things to say. Kasser came in, and he took over. I've forgotten exactly when, now, sometime in January. I was A.D. about four and a half months maybe, or five months. I was very pleased with Kasser, an excellent choice, I thought.

Many people have asked me what it was like to be A.D. In some respects, the department had the problems every organization does. But there's an ethos, if I may use that fancy word, that I really liked in that department. Among the coaches I found an idealism there that really resonated with me. One hears a lot of cynicism about athletics. If you look at the top report on this desk [motioning], it's something from the Association of Governing Boards. It's a special bulletin on the conflict between athletics and academics.

But I did not find cynicism among the people I got to know well. Among coaches there was a lot of interest in the students, after all, they perform for them, their livelihood depends on the performance of these students. I came away feeling that there's an idealism that's there and a serious concern about students that some of the rest of the campus, if I may say so, could benefit from. I'm not saying it's universal. Two years after I left, Todd Bozeman gave Cal a bad surprise. But his ouster led to the recruitment of Ben Braun, who exemplifies the attitude I so admire.

Just to finish the athletic story, I continue to be involved a little bit. John Kasser was very courteous, and he used to consult me long after I had anything to say that was of any value. [laughter] Also I was on the search committee this last time.

LaBerge: Just recently?

Cheit: Yes. I was a member of that search committee. Earlier the chancellor had asked me to chair a committee on the budget for intercollegiate athletics and recreational sports. I had a very good committee and we filed a report with him shortly before the search committee for the new A.D. And I must say the chancellor adopted many of our recommendations. I was very pleased with his response.

LaBerge: When you were A.D., were you also in charge of RSF [Recreational Sports Facility] and what happens there?

Cheit: Yes. Recreational sports was merged with intercollegiate athletics by Bob Bockrath. Three departments--men's athletics, women's athletics, and rec sports became one department. The A.D. is responsible for all of these three parts.

LaBerge: You want to go on with that a little bit later?

Cheit: Yes, we might pick that up.



Budd and June hiking in the Spanish Pyrenees, August 2001.

XVIII RECREATION AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

Hiking, Reading, Traveling

[Interview 22: August 13, 2001] ##

LaBerge: The last time we met we talked about your being intercollegiate athletic director. We're just going to go on from there. Tell me, now that you're emeritus, what you do for recreation?

Cheit: Well, I read a lot. For physical activity, walking and hiking. Our summer vacations are often hiking trips. In about two weeks, June and I are going to the Pyrenees on a hiking trip. These cover five to eight miles a day which is about my limit right now.

Also travel. Bear Treks, the Alumni Association travel program, has invited me to be a lecturer. I've now done this for several of their trips. This fall, I'm scheduled to do one in the Persian Gulf. Next year, I've agreed to do one in Panama and Costa Rica. It's a splendid form of recreation, because you're with Old Blues, and I talk about the political economy of the area. Perhaps the most exotic trip we took for Bear Treks was through Asia by private jet, a trip called "Great Trade Routes" that focussed on some of the places made famous by Marco Polo.

The one in the Persian Gulf will have two experts, one on Islam and one on the history of the countries. I'm going to talk about the current economic conditions of those countries.¹

Then our cabin has been a place of recreation, although in 1998, a terrible El Nino year, we had considerable damage--decks were wiped out, a hillside washed away.

LaBerge: So you're right on the ocean?

¹Trip was canceled after September 11, 2001. Travel to the Middle East was not considered safe.

Cheit: We're in a canyon that goes down to the ocean. We spent a long time fighting unsuccessfully with an insurance company, and then doing restoration. I don't know if I'd call it recreation, but it was one of the activities that I've been engaged in. Then, of course, I follow our beloved Bears on the campus.

LaBerge: Football and basketball?

Cheit: Oh, yes.

LaBerge: Other sports?

Cheit: Not regularly. But I drop in once in a while on other sports.

Damn Yankees and Reflections on the Faust Legend

Cheit: One form of recreation that June and I had was an investment in a Broadway musical.

LaBerge: Which one?

Cheit: *Damn Yankees*, the revival of *Damn Yankees*.

LaBerge: I saw the one that came here.

Cheit: Yes, it came to San Francisco. When you saw it, Jerry Lewis was playing the devil. He was the second actor in that role. It's a long story, let's see if I can make it short. The short story is that we didn't make any money. But the slightly longer version is that our daughter, Julie, who at that time was practicing law in a major New York law firm, met a fellow who was a producer. She's very interested in Broadway, and she decided to help him revive *Damn Yankees*. The first run was in San Diego at the Globe Theater. We went down and invited some friends to see it. San Diego is full of retired Navy people--[laughter]--they are a great theater audience. There was a great standing ovation. We thought, We can't lose. So we invested a modest, but significant sum, let me just leave it at that. The whole experience was entertaining and instructive. And I told you this after you asked about recreation because it really was a form of recreation.

LaBerge: Did you travel around the country seeing the different productions?

Cheit: No. But you should know and the readers of this oral history should know that when you invest in a Broadway show, you buy into a partnership. You are a limited partner. The general partner in our case was a company called Workin' (not Working) Workin' Man Films. What it comes down to is the general partner has all the power. But I was interested in the partnership agreement because it told how the actors were paid.

We went to New York for the opening. They haul out various threadbare New York celebrities. Donald Trump, and at that time one of the CBS anchor people was there, Charles Kuralt, I think. Anyway, it was a lot of fun. The opening night, I thought, was stunning. The players were brilliant. Bebe Neuwirth played Miss Banana, that famous Lola part. It did not get a good review from the *New York Times*. It got a tepid and somewhat critical review.

It went on to play around the country. It came to San Francisco, where you saw it. It did really quite well, but we never got all of our money back. So it was an education for us. There were actually two openings in New York because when Jerry Lewis took the role of the devil, the show had a second opening.

LaBerge: Who was the first?

Cheit: Oh, it was Victor Garber.

I thought that our review was very unfair.

LaBerge: The review in the *New York Times*.

Cheit: Yes. I wrote a letter to the editor, not for publication. I wrote a letter to the editor of the arts section, a letter that I was very proud of, because I pointed out that the reviewer didn't know how to review a play he didn't like. That takes a lot of skill. I gave three very sharp examples of his poor review.

LaBerge: From his or from another?

Cheit: From his review of *Damn Yankees*. I'm not saying that I had anything to do with this, but a few weeks later he left the *New York Times*. My letter couldn't have hurt.

LaBerge: Do you remember the name?

Cheit: Yes, David Richards. As for the examples, let me cite one. There's one very charming scene where the players pretend to take a shower on stage. They're holding towels rather modestly, and there are these shower heads, and steam comes out. The reviewer implied that it evoked Auschwitz. I said, one would have to be of a peculiarly twisted mind to see that here.

Finally, the last thing I wanted to say about *Damn Yankees* is that it's the Faust legend, of course. It's based on a bargain with the devil. Some years ago, our dramatic art department here did a series on the different interpretations of the Faust legend. I know you love the arts, you may have noticed that Pamela Rosenberg, the woman who's taking over the San Francisco Opera, is going to do different interpretations of Faust in the next five years. *Damn Yankees* is an interpretation of Faust in which the devil doesn't win; the devil loses. And that always has intrigued me.

If you read Goethe, in the *Faust*, in Volume Two, which is never used in college classrooms, Faust escapes. In fact, it's rather racy. You know, the cherubim come down and the devil is sexually aroused by the cherubims' little behinds, and while his attention is diverted Faust escapes. That's in volume two. But the escape in *Damn Yankees* was due to true love: this guy comes back to his wife and refuses to be seduced by the devil. But I've strayed from your question, which was recreation.

LaBerge: That brings me back to something else, because obviously you've read volume two of *Faust*.

Cheit: I bought the *Faust*, the translation. I did not read it in the German. Because some of our recreation is travel—when I was lecturing in Berlin, we went both to Leipzig and to Weimar. In Leipzig, is that famous Auerbach's Celler, where one of the scenes in *Faust* takes place. It's a beer hall, and they have a devil sitting on top of a huge keg of beer, commemorating the fact that Goethe wrote about it using Auerbach's Celler.

I've always had a great deal of interest in the Faust legend; obviously it's an enduring story. I think that *Damn Yankees* is a brilliant treatment of the legend. And it has wonderful music and dance. You still hear the song "Whatever Lola Wants" and "You've Got to Have Heart."

Reading Preferences

LaBerge: You started off with reading. For instance, what are you reading right now? What do you like to read?

Cheit: Well, the book I have just finished listening to on tape is Dickens' *Bleak House*. I listened to it on tape because June cannot read because of her vision disability. She's in a book group, and *Bleak House* was their latest book. Through her book group I have started reading more novels and fiction. But primarily, I'm more interested in non-fiction. I just read David McCullough's *The Path Between the Seas*, about the Panama Canal.

I guess the most recent non-fiction I have read is a University Press book on dust. [laughter] They published a wonderful little collection of essays about dust, a poetic meditation on the small and the invisible. I read a lot of the University Press books. In this extraordinarily clever book, he extrapolates from the tiny, and how it fits into the cosmos, and how we all end up as dust. I also read a lot of current things. I read three newspapers every day. The *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the [San Francisco] *Chronicle*. I read the *Jewish Bulletin* once a week.

Tanakh Study Group

LaBerge: Also you're in a study group. Do you want to talk about that?

Cheit: Sure, I would call that part of recreation. I'm in a group that studies the Jewish Bible. It's called the Tanakh, or the holy scriptures. It includes the Torah, the Prophets and the Writings. The group meets in Warren Hellman's conference room. Warren is a famous alumnus and an investment banker. His offices, Hellman & Friedman, are in San Francisco. Warren Hellman gives his board room and provides coffee and juice. We meet from eight to nine thirty.

Warren had invited me to join the group some years ago, and for whatever reason of schedule, I didn't. Then about a year ago, my calendar was free enough, so I thought I could. It meets about once every three weeks. It's led by Professor Ze'ev Brenner--he's in the phone book as Bill Brenner--he's an emeritus professor here. He's in Near Eastern Studies. The group has been meeting for seven or eight years now. Its membership includes a Catholic clergyman, and a San Francisco rabbi, Stephen Pearce.

LaBerge: From Temple Emanu-El?

Cheit: Yes. Then there are some San Francisco businessmen, professional men and women, housewives. There may be twenty to twenty-five people. We gather around Warren Hellman's board room table. It's the most elegant setting for academic study you can imagine. Warren himself is a scholarly man. He's smart and understands the Bible very well. The administration of the group is handled by a woman who works for the Jewish Endowment in San Francisco. She sends out the assignments. We are currently working on Jeremiah. I think we have about one or two more sessions and we will have finished Jeremiah.

I'll just tell you another couple things about it. The way the class works, Ze'ev Brenner will say a few words to provide the setting and then he will say, "Start reading." He will point to one of the class members, and we will read a passage. Then he'll stop us, and he'll ask, "Why is Jeremiah doing this?" He will point out the meaning of the words--

LaBerge: The Hebrew words?

Cheit: Yes, he's a fine scholar. He'll bring other accounts of this passage and show how the translations have differed. You read a dozen lines or so, and then the next person does. On a typical day, we'll get around the table twice, depending on how much discussion there is.

Recently we studied Song of Songs, and he invited Chana Bloch, who has written a new interpretation of the Song of Songs. It may be the most erotic part of the Bible. It's also extremely interesting.

There are many interesting people in the group, among them Jan Holmgren, the president of Mills.

Newspaper Columns

Good New York Hospital Care Inspires Op-ed Piece

LaBerge: A couple times you have told me about writing columns for various newspapers. Maybe you'd like to talk about that and particularly about an op-ed you wrote for the *New York Times* in 1978.

Cheit: Okay. The op-ed piece, which appeared on February 25th, 1978, in the *New York Times*¹--I happened to look that up; that's why I know it. [laughter] It was an account of my fall in New York on February 6, 1978. Just very briefly, I was walking across First Avenue and Forty-ninth Street in New York. I had gone to New York for a meeting, and I had been visiting someone in the U.N. Plaza, a lovely apartment building on the East River, a woman I was trying to recruit for a board.

The snow was falling harder and harder and I was becoming worried. We tuned in the radio and it said that the airports were closed, but I thought I could still get the train to Washington, and on to Pittsburgh for a meeting of the Chatham College board the next day. So carrying my luggage, I went out and crossed First Avenue and Forty-ninth Street and I slipped and went down in the middle of the street. As the later diagnosis revealed, I both sprained my ankle and broke the fibula.

What happened was quite unusual. There I was down in the middle of First Avenue and Forty-ninth Street. A limousine stopped, a limousine! It turned out to be the Japanese ambassador to the United Nations. They hauled me into the limousine, took me around to a nearby hospital. There used to be a hospital on Forty-ninth between Second and Third. Literally within ten minutes of my fall, I was in a small hospital. But New York was so badly shut down that day that it took a couple of hours before an orthopedist could get to me. Skipping a lot of intermediate steps, they set the fracture, and they told me that the sprain was actually worse than the fracture, because I had "spaghettified" the ligaments. I was there a couple of days.

American Airlines took very good care of me when I flew home because my leg had to be propped up. They put me in front of a door, and I had a milk carton to prop up my leg. I wrote up an account of this because I was so nicely treated. I don't know whether earlier I told about the exchange with Alta Bates.

LaBerge: Not on tape.

¹See Appendix.

Cheit: First of all, they took very good care of me. When I left--I had Blue Cross, and the Blue Cross covered much of the cost. I didn't have enough money on me to pay the difference. They said that was okay, and they sent the bill home with me. I've forgotten now, but it was a few hundred dollars. They said, "Just send us a check when you get home." Then when I came home I went to an orthopedist here and he looked at it. He said it was really a bad ankle and "I should put some screws in that because you are likely to cause trouble moving around on it a lot." He said, "It's just an easy procedure, just go into the hospital. I have to do it in the hospital."

Alta Bates Hospital, Berkeley

LaBerge: As an outpatient?

Cheit: Yes. He did it in one of the operating rooms, though. It's kind of funny because he just gave me a local. He used a drill. The two screws, which I saved, after they were taken out--I'm digressing I realize [laughter]--but June said she was going to make a little stabile or mobile out of the two screws but she never did.

The surgeon who put the screws in was [John] Debenham, who is still with the Berkeley Orthopedic Group. He said, "Oops, you know in medical school they tell you a surgeon should never say 'oops'". I said, "What do they tell you to say?" He said, "They tell you to say 'theeere'". [laughter]

Before I could go into Alta Bates, they asked me what my insurance was, and I told them Blue Cross. Then they said it only covers whatever, three-fourths, and therefore you'll have to pay the rest now in advance. I said, "Can't I pay it afterwards?" They said no. So I had to make the payment before I could get in.

That really irritated me, so I wrote an op-ed piece for the *New York Times* that appeared, as I said, the 25th of February in '78. They accepted it right away. The head they gave was "After the Fall." What I said was, what happened, and how I had been so nicely treated, and that I was really surprised when I came back here and had to have an adjustment made and Alta Bates made me pay the difference in advance.

Later, I learned from the fellow who was the CEO of Alta Bates, that they were deluged by correspondence and calls from doctors and people around the country who thought that that policy was wrong. Then he wrote me this very funny letter, complaining that I had brought all this ignominy--

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Cheit: The way I interpreted the letter is, "Well, sure New York would let you take the bill home and we didn't, but that's 'cause they didn't know you and we do." [laughter] He didn't really mean it that way. Anyway, we declared peace. He called me and invited me to lunch with him at the hospital. But they later changed the policy; I was very pleased. Only later did I discover that his wife worked for us in the business school.

LaBerge: Are we going to mention any names here or not?

Cheit: I think his name is Montgomery, but I can't remember his first name. I got into this because you asked me about column writing. I did not write a column for the *New York Times*, but I did write a newspaper column and it started in an interesting way.

Cal Monthly Columns

Cheit: The *Cal Monthly*, the alumni magazine which now comes out six times a year, once asked me if I would be interested in doing any writing for them. So I wrote a couple of columns for them, and I really enjoyed it.

LaBerge: What were the columns on?

Cheit: I have to strain to remember them.

LaBerge: Something in economics?

Cheit: Yes, the economics of things. One was about the Superdome in New Orleans. I did something about the business school or about intergenerational equity or something, I can't remember now. I wrote a few of these, and they were probably short of things to fill their space, but anyway they encouraged me to do some more.

Columns for Four Newspapers

Cheit: There was a man who was the associate editor of the *Examiner*, a very able newspaper man, now deceased. He died of Lou Gehrig's disease. I wish I could remember his name. He one day called me and said, "Let's talk." So I talked to him and he said, "Why don't you write a column for our Sunday paper?" I said I'd try it, and he said let's do just once a month.

As you know, the *Chronicle* was at that time Monday through Saturday mornings and the *Examiner* had Sunday morning. So I started writing for the Sunday *Examiner*, once a month. They let me go up to a thousand words, which was quite a bit, most columnists have about

750-800. Then, what happened was that three other papers expressed some interest in it. I wasn't smart enough to get someone to try to syndicate me.

LaBerge: You weren't going out looking for this?

Cheit: No, I was not. But the *Sacramento Bee* would pick it up, and the *San Diego Union* from time to time. The *LA Times* was more regular. I'd do it about once a month, but I wasn't committed to that. I wrote about business and economics. I did that for about seven years and I really enjoyed it, but then I took a long trip to Asia. My first thought when I left was that I would write about all these places. I didn't. What happened was I simply got out of the pattern of doing it, and when I came back five weeks later, and recovered from that trip, I just decided to take a break. I must say that the circulation didn't decline in any of these newspapers. [laughter] From time to time, people would ask, "What happened to your column?" I haven't written any more.

But I have a huge file of those things. Someone once suggested that I put them together in a paperback book or something, but I never had, and they're now dated, of course. Some of them are really quite interesting. I don't know whether I mentioned here, Villa Archaeologicos, that joint venture between Club Med and the World Bank.

LaBerge: Oh, yes, you did.

Cheit: I wrote a column about Villa Archaeologicos, that's the kind of thing I did. My newspaper career started as a copy boy, and I like newspapers. I follow them very closely, and like good writing, lean and spare prose. I never picked up the column again, so that was the end of my newspaper career. I did some business broadcasts for KQED TV, but I enjoyed the column more.

LaBerge: But since you have them, are you thinking about donating them or anything? Maybe if you're donating your papers, the Bancroft Library might want them. Don't throw them away.

Cheit: Okay, I appreciate that. I find it hard to believe somebody would want them, but maybe I'll include some samples in the appendix to this oral history.

CEB Review Committee

LaBerge: You only mentioned in passing being on this board or that board, but we've not really talked about the boards you were on. One in particular I wanted to hear about--just because he mentioned it in his oral history--is the CEB review committee you were on with William Coblentz.

Cheit: Right. I think I mentioned that one of my jobs was that Jud King asked me to be an advisor to him. Then he asked me if I would head up a review of CEB. CEB, the Continuing Education of the Bar program, it's a publishing and teaching program that was established jointly in a contract actually between the California Bar Association and the university after World War II. Over the years it made money and then it started losing money. It had a very severe accumulated deficit, that is the annual deficit that ran up to a very big debt. I can't remember now, maybe twenty million dollars or so. It was forced to borrow from the university, from the very STIP fund that was created when I was vice president.

We, Jud King and I, with a lot of consultation, put together a very good committee. Bill Coblentz was on it. Mary Metz, who had been the president of Mills and now runs a foundation; she was then head of Extension. Herma [Hill] Kay, who was then dean at Boalt, and I put on a fellow who was general counsel of CNF, Eb [Eberhart] Schmoller, a very good lawyer.

We conducted an extensive review of the CEB, which rents space in offices on Shattuck Avenue, and gave a recommendation to Jud King that the CEB be sold. It leaked, of course, before they could even make the announcement. There were all sorts of repercussions. It was interesting, because they were not being efficiently run. The reason they were in debt was that they were not efficiently run, and secondly, that the market had changed. There was a lot of competition now, including from the bar association itself. The bar association was running its own programs. So the net result was that, Jud said that the Office of the President would study our recommendation and make a determination.

In the meantime, they appointed as interim director, someone who had been in the statewide university administration, Craig Conley. He took over the CEB, and over a period of about eighteen months turned it around. He did some very bold things. He fired some people, he restructured it, and as a result they're back in the black. Jud and Dick Atkinson didn't have to face all these angry lawyers by selling it. They said, "If you can turn it around, we'll give you a chance." And actually, that was one of our recommendations, see if they can turn it around, and they did. It's a very different CEB today, it is leaner, but it is now successful. That was my work with CEB, but I was never on the CEB board.

Board of Directors

LaBerge: Tell me about whichever boards you think are the most important, that you'd like to talk about.

Cheit: There are two sets. One is, the not for profits that I've been on. I think I've mentioned some of them. Chatham College and Mills College, the Russell Sage Foundation board, and the UC Berkeley Foundation Board. In the case of Chatham and Russell Sage, I served out my two terms and then had to rotate off. Mills, I've served out my term, but they invited me as a lifetime trustee so I decided to stay. I am an emeritus trustee of the UC Berkeley Foundation.

The other not-for-profit boards are, of course, Cal Performances, I'm still listed on their masthead as founding chairman, and I have rotated out of being chairman, but I am still on that board. And then the board of control of UC Press. You know, I've been on other boards, I was chairman of the Kensington Democratic Club, and it had a small board.

LaBerge: We talked about that, and the Richmond School Board.

Cheit: Right. These are the main boards, including importantly the Richmond School Board, that I've been on. I've served on other professional boards. They are listed in the biographical statement I will include in the appendix.

Shaklee-YCI Board Chairman

Cheit: There are three for-profit boards I'd like to mention in the order in which I was elected, Shaklee, CNF and Simpson Manufacturing. I have always felt good about my association with these three very different companies. They are good businesses, ethically run. Moreover, the honor flows both ways. Whatever benefit they get from having a business school dean on their board, is well matched by what they do for the school in a variety of ways, including in the classroom, on the advisory board, through endowed chairs, participating in school programs, providing support.

I went on the board of Shaklee Corporation, a nutritional products company. It later became YCI. YCI is a holding company that owns Shaklee, and Bear Creek, which itself is comprised of Harry and David and Jackson and Perkins. I am retiring from that board next month. I am its chairman, a non-officer chairman. It's a very interesting idea, by the way, having a non-officer chairman.

LaBerge: That's unusual, isn't it?

Cheit: It is unusual, although from time to time there are upheavals about corporate governance and people say the CEO should not be the chairman. Because in that way there is better communication with other board members and the CEO can't control the agenda in a meeting. That's true, but in general CEOs want to be the chairman.

CNF

Cheit: Next I'll mention CNF. The company name when I joined the board was CF, Consolidated Freightways, a solid trucking company. I still have on the wall of my study a picture of the original truck that started that company. I served on that board, and as the company grew and

prospered, it expanded into a number of other activities. It spun off CF, so Consolidated Freightways is now a freestanding company. The name of the company on whose board I served became CNF. CNF owns a trucking company called Conway, and it owns an airline, a freight carrier called Emery Worldwide, and it owns a logistics company called Menlo Logistics, where CEO, John H. Williford, is one of our MBAs.

I served on that board until I reached its retirement age of 72. It is an excellent company that recently hit a bump because it took over Priority Mail for the post office and had a dispute about the contract. They broke the relationship, and CNF is now suing the U.S. Postal Service. As the one academic on that board, I think I pulled my weight.

LaBerge: For instance, how were you asked to be on that board?

Cheit: Well, the fellow who was CEO, a man by the name of Bill White, called me one day.

LaBerge: You knew him?

Cheit: No, I did not. He knew about me. He asked me to come to lunch. He said that, "for years we've believed that we should have an academic on this board. Some people on the board had their heart set on somebody (whose name I don't remember) from Harvard. We talked to him, and he decided not to come. And so I said, I wanted you." So you know, it's the same way I became dean.

LaBerge: The second choice?

Cheit: [laughter] The second choice, that's right, scraping the bottom of the barrel. I said I was flattered. And I was at that time about to become dean. I said I needed to husband my time carefully. Eventually I agreed to go on that board.

LaBerge: Is there some conflict there or not?

Cheit: Well, there is a potential for it. But I never felt I had any--

LaBerge: It's not against the rules?

Cheit: Not if you do your job, no. So I served on that board, and made many friendships. As I said, Eb Schmoller, who was the general counsel now, served on the CEB review committee. Anyway, I had to retire at age 72 from that board and when I retired, the CEO, Greg Quesnel, asked me what did I want as a retirement present. They had sent a previous retiring director on an extended trip or something like that.

So I said, "An oral history." He asked what is involved in an oral history. I said the company should make a contribution to the Bancroft, because the oral history staff has been after me to do an oral history. So they did! I'm very grateful to my colleagues at CNF for

their generous gift to the Bancroft. And because I was a committee chairman, and because I was always a stickler for time, about being punctual, they gave me a chronograph. [displaying the chronograph]

LaBerge: They did!

Cheit: The chronograph, if you look at the back--

LaBerge: "In appreciation, 1999, CNF." How nice. Is there something else?

Cheit: No, that's it, In appreciation, CNF. It's a steel watch good for hiking, rugged, not terribly expensive but I like it for the out-of-doors.

LaBerge: Do you time yourself?

Cheit: Yes. I use it to time hikes.

Simpson Manufacturing Company

Cheit: Finally, I'd like to mention Simpson Manufacturing Company, the only board I'm on now. Barc [Barclay] Simpson, the chairman, is an alum and a great entrepreneur. As you probably now, he is chairman of the University Art Museum board, and a collector of Rembrandt etchings. His company makes construction and venting products. If you have retrofitted your house, chances are you used Simpson products. The company has manufactured structural connectors since 1956, and went public almost eight years ago, that's when I joined the board.

Current Activities, 2001

LaBerge: I've written down some notes here: professor, practitioner, advisor, trustee. Are those your current activities?

Cheit: Well, yes.

LaBerge: Then, let's talk about current activities.

Cheit: I am serving on a committee for the Bay Area Council under the chairmanship of Richard Rosenberg, former CEO of Bank of America. Our committee created a Business Hall of Fame for the council and now serves as its selection committee. This year we are focussing on a highly creative group and plan to honor George Lucas, Saul Zaentz and Hal Riney.

On the campus I'm spending quite a bit of time with Cal Performances. I just spent several days writing a long memorandum for the director of Cal Performances to submit to Paul Gray, the executive vice chancellor, arguing that Cal Performances should not be covered by what's called a direct costing assessment. It's a tax on certain auxiliary enterprises and service units.

LaBerge: This is what the university calls it?

Cheit: Yes, to pay for certain administrative services. Cal Performances is lumped in with various auxiliary services. It should never have happened. I spent a lot of time writing a memo arguing why it shouldn't have happened. I spend time at that sort of thing.

Tomorrow I'm going to a long meeting with the UC Press where we're working on a strategy. Because I think I mentioned earlier that the downturn in the book market and particularly in the dot-com booksellers like Amazon.com and Barnes and Noble, bn.com, what they've done is they've unloaded their inventory of our back list books and others. So the press has a serious drop in sales because of returns.

We're trying to work out a way to restructure the press, so I'm spending time on that. I'm preparing some lectures. I've become very engaged studying the Persian Gulf economies, and I'm enjoying that immensely.

LaBerge: Are you going to give them somewhere else besides that trip, too?

Cheit: Not that I know of. But I just agreed to give a lecture in Washington. So I'm now going to start gathering materials for that. I help out in the business school, particularly with fundraising and with alumni relations. I expect that I will continue to be helpful, although the dean [Laura Tyson] just announced that she is going to leave on December 31. There will now be another search committee.

LaBerge: I wouldn't be surprised if you're involved.

Cheit: Well, I was on the committee that submitted her name to the chancellor. Anyway, those are the kinds of things that I'm active in on the campus particularly.

Among other things, the arts are an important part of our life. June and I have taken several music courses from Bob Greenberg from the San Francisco Conservatory. We are now enrolled in his series on the Shostakovich quartets. We subscribe to the opera, to Philharmonia Baroque, and Composers, Inc., a new music group in San Francisco. They do four programs a year. Then we go to many Cal Performances events, as I indicated earlier, and to Shakespeare at Santa Cruz. So the arts are an important source of recreation and a current activity. I have become a member of "The Little Thinkers," a campus luncheon group that has met continuously for more than fifty years. It currently has fourteen members.

Time Management

LaBerge: That comes to the next question, how do you get so much done? How do you have time to go to all of those? How did you get so much done all through this very active life?

Cheit: It's hard to answer that in a non self-serving way. [laughter] I think I've always had a lot of energy, I've gotten by with maybe five or six hours of sleep. I haven't had hobbies that take a lot of time like golf, which I like for other people but don't do myself. I think I've always had good fortune in my colleagues.

I've always had very good support people who have worked for me. Nancy Nakayama when I was in the chancellor's office, Stephanie Lee here in the business school, people who have really been very good people and who have kept me afloat. When I was vice president, Joan Rogin kept me from making too many mistakes in the president's office and with the regents. Dayna Sannazzaro did the same when I was A.D.

As I mentioned, June has edited a lot of my writing and has been very helpful to me. So I guess that's the answer.

Presidential Possibilities

[Interview 23: September 27, 2001] ##

LaBerge: Today, for our last interview, we thought we would pick up little pieces that we hadn't talked about. You had various offers for presidencies of universities that you did not take. We could start with that. Start with Wayne State [University]. I don't know how they go chronologically, so if you want to go chronologically, that's fine too.

Cheit: I think the overall proposition is that the presidencies perhaps that I wanted I wasn't offered, and the ones that I was offered, for whatever reason, I felt I shouldn't take.

LaBerge: Which ones did you want and you weren't offered?

Cheit: Well, I was interested in being chancellor here.

LaBerge: Right, we talked about that, didn't we?

Cheit: Yes, we did. And I was not offered it. I think of the other presidencies that I looked at, perhaps the only other one that really interested me was Penn State because it is a very important land grant institution and I really liked it. I was one of the finalists, but not *the* finalist.

LaBerge: Who was the finalist?

Cheit: You know, I don't remember. I suppose I blotted his name out. [laughter] When you're executive vice chancellor at Berkeley, your name becomes well known, and I did that writing for the Carnegie Commission, and the Carnegie Council. So inevitably your name is in presidential searches. There were a couple of them I looked at--three of them, really, that I looked at--well, four of them that I looked at carefully. Oregon State was one, and I withdrew.

LaBerge: Because?

Cheit: I just decided that I didn't want to do it after I looked at it very carefully. Wayne State really appealed to me because of their aspirations for what their role could be in Detroit. The trustees were so attractive, and vigorous. June and I went to Detroit and met with the trustees. It was very serious. They then came out here--sent a committee out here with the offer. I was impressed by the number of middle and upper middle class black professionals who were very influential in Wayne State, and on the board. I had a great time with them; I really related to them and to their aspirations. But in the end I thought that I probably wasn't right for them--they didn't think that, but I did--so I declined.

The two other presidencies that became quite serious were The Russell Sage Foundation and the City University of New York. I declined the Russell Sage presidency but agreed to go on the board. I decided that I was not the right person for the CUNY job. It was a system job, not a campus job, and I decided, no.

I also had some flirtations. A committee came out from the University of Michigan to interview me.

LaBerge: Was this after your association with Roger Heyns?

Cheit: Yes. It was the presidency after Robin Flemming, who's a very good friend of mine. But that didn't go anywhere. I really admired the University of Michigan, and might well have been interested, but they talked to me and in their wisdom they went elsewhere, and they did well. I think that sort of covers my interviews and looking seriously.

In retrospect, I think the thing that is most interesting about this is when you look very seriously at a presidency, you have to ask yourself, "Why do I really want to do this?" Having been executive vice chancellor, I was freed of the vanity that goes with being president, you know, being called president. I knew that that wasn't worth much. You really have to ask yourself, "What could I do there that would make a difference? What could I do to really move the institution along? Do I relate to and admire its aspirations?" So it's really an exercise in self-examination. I won't say I gained a lot of self-knowledge, but I gained enough to know when not to do it. In retrospect, I learned a lot in all of these interviews, and I've had no regrets. Perhaps I was able to do more things, and be more effective on a smaller scale than had I gotten into those jobs.

LaBerge: Did it have anything to do with your desire to keep teaching?

Cheit: Well, that was certainly part of it. Part of it was that I learned that the smaller units are the more satisfying. That's why elsewhere in this interview I say that of all the administrative jobs I've had, I think I enjoyed dean the most because you're working with faculty and with students, and if you husband your time, you can teach.

Threat From a Disturbed Student

LaBerge: That's a nice segue into a dean story you told me off tape about a disturbed student who was in the business school, if you want to go on from that.

Cheit: Yes. This was during my first term as dean, and I can't give you the exact date; my guess would be around 1979 or '80. The short--

LaBerge: No, please tell the long story!

Cheit: Okay. Our admissions officer for the undergraduate school at that time was an enormously accomplished woman by the name of Ruth Nice. We used to talk things over and she had an application for admission--and our undergraduate school is an upper division school, so this is a transfer in, either from Berkeley or from another campus--and had an application from someone to transfer in from outside the university as a junior. The record troubled her. There's very intense competition to get into our undergraduate school--enormous competition. I used to receive many letters, and entreaties. Anyway, I had had a visit from this young man's father who was a prominent lawyer in Los Angeles.

LaBerge: Had you known him before?

Cheit: No. He had asked for an appointment. He came to make the case that his son had had some problems, had put himself together, was on the way, and he had recovered--he had had some mental problems--and that he was really doing very good work. And that this affirmation by admission to our undergraduate school might make the difference in his whole life.

Anyway, he made an impression on me and so Ruth Nice and I talked about this, and I did something I had never done before, that is, I told her I would like him admitted. Just a slight digression here. You have to treat admissions officers as independent professionals, like auditors are on the financial side in an enterprise: their judgment has to prevail, because you won't keep a professional if you tell them who to admit and who not to admit. I had so much respect for Ruth Nice that I never told her how to do her job. She more frequently told me how I should do mine. [laughter] But I urged her to admit. She said, "If that's your order, I'll do it, but it's a mistake." And I said, "Do it!" And actually--tears came to her eyes. She actually cried, not because I ordered her to do this, but because she just knew I was making a mistake. Well, events showed that she was absolutely right and I made an enormous mistake.

LaBerge: Is she still alive?

Cheit: She is in retirement now, and as part of this oral history I tried to call her, and she can't take calls. She has Alzheimer's, and her husband takes care of her. Anyway, she was just very much admired. She really ran that undergraduate school. Other people had the title "dean," but--.

So he was admitted. I didn't see or hear his name again until some incidents occurred and were called to my attention. Our undergraduate school of business is very tough. Grading is hard. This is a slight digression, but we used to check ourselves against other departments for grade inflation, to see how did students do in courses they took outside the business school as against inside the business school, and how did our grade distribution compare. The data showed that we were one of the two or three toughest departments on the campus. That pleased me a great deal.

LaBerge: Are you the one who instituted that?

Cheit: No, it was the culture here, and I tried not to do anything to undermine it. It's a very good culture. People can flunk out of here, and do.

He was having grade problems. He wasn't flunking out, but he was getting C's and C minuses, and he was really at the margin of being able to continue to graduation. What he did was he put outside the door of one of our faculty members a chicken with a knife in it--a sort of a variant of *The Godfather* routine with the horse's head. He did a couple of other things that were menacing, so we consulted the campus police, because this seemed rather serious. The campus police then told us that they had been following him because he had had a serious mental problem. They had him confined for 72 hours. That's as long as you can be confined in California without a hearing that then shows that you're a danger to others or yourself. The police department on the campus had a large file on him, and they had had contact with his father. These were all things that I later learned.

Well, what happened was that he was near the end of his second year with us, and he would be graduating. This was a mid-year graduation, and the graduation exercises took place in the Lipman Room because at mid-year we didn't graduate very many.

LaBerge: The Lipman Room in Barrows?

Cheit: In Barrows, yes. The commencement was maybe a month away when the police notified me that he had applied for a gun permit, and that it was turned down, but they had reason to think that he had acquired a gun. Moreover, that he had become estranged from his father, and that the police department had advised the father not to come to commencement because he had made threats about killing his father. The campus police said to me--and his father agreed, he wasn't going to come to commencement. The campus police said that "Since he's not coming, you will be the father figure at the commencement, so if he shoots anybody, it's likely to be you." So they said we ought to take all the necessary precautions.

LaBerge: Right now you're kind of chuckling about it, but how did you feel when you heard that?

Cheit: At the time I felt a bit startled. The campus police were just wonderful. They did several things: first of all they said that since it was in the Lipman Room, and that the graduates would walk into the door of the Lipman Room, they could put a metal detector at that door. They had a metal detector, ringed with flowers so they could at least get a clue as to whether or not he was carrying a gun. Then they outfitted me with a bullet-proof vest. It's the only time I've ever worn one. It doesn't, of course, protect your head. Then they had two other layers of protection. They brought in two of our graduating seniors. Ruth Nice, who used to line people up in the march, lined them up on either side of this young man. They were told everything.

LaBerge: And they were willing to--?

Cheit: And they were willing to watch him and see if he pulled out a weapon to grab him. Then the last line of defense, the police department said, "We will have sitting in the front row the department sharpshooter. He will have a gun, and he will be in disguise because this young man has been in and out of the police department so much that he might recognize him and go berserk if he saw him in the front row. He'll be in disguise, but he'll have a gun, and if the guys next to him don't grab him, and he pulls out a gun to try to shoot you, our man will shoot him." Against that background we had the commencement exercise.

LaBerge: Also, what about your wife?

Cheit: As this was building up I told her about it. She insisted on coming. So June came. She often came to commencement--she hadn't planned to come to this one--so she came and as she walked in with me, she saw me outfitted with my bullet-proof vest, which worked nicely under my gown, because a gown is very loose fitting. As we walked into the Lipman Room, she said to me, "This is absurd! I can pick out that sharpshooter," because he had an odd wig and makeup, you know, she was right, of course. His disguise was not very good.

You asked me, was I nervous and scared? The answer is yes, but we went through with it. I made some mistakes in my talk. I don't often fumble and mumble, but I did. But the whole thing went without incident. He came up to me when I handed him his piece of paper; we shook hands; I wished him well; and he went on his way. We graduated him with great relief.

Ruth Nice was very nice, if I may, because she never crowed, "I told you so." But when I passed her in the corridor she would give me a look that said it. [laughter]

LaBerge: "Don't try it again."

Cheit: I didn't. There's a little footnote to this story, and that is, about a year or two later, he applied to come into the MBA program, and was denied admission, and he filed a suit against us, a lawsuit. I never heard more about it. I just assume it was thrown out because we never saw him again. So that's the story.

LaBerge: I'm glad you told that, because I think people don't know--what the police on campus do, or that incidents like that maybe happen more often than is reported, and people don't know.

Cheit: They were wonderful. I just couldn't say enough about them, except the makeup of their sharpshooter wasn't as good as it might have been, but they were very effective.

LaBerge: Anything else like that that we forgot to talk about? Any kind of incident, or threat? We talked about the one when you were executive vice chancellor.

Cheit: I had threats when I was executive vice chancellor, but no, not when I was dean. I had many entreaties, you know, "Admit my son," or, "Admit my daughter." I think I've mentioned, I had the perfect letter to tell them I know how they feel because two of my own kids were denied admission into the university. I did have threats from people who say, "I won't contribute unless--," but those, you get used to those.

Consultation for SUNY-Maritime

LaBerge: A couple of other things we haven't talked about. You did some consultation for SUNY, State University of New York.

Cheit: I did, yes. I decline most consulting invitations, but this one was special. I was on the dissertation committee of a woman who was a student of mine when I taught in the School of Education. Her name is Alceste Pappas. She runs a consulting company that focusses mostly on education and not-for-profit organizations. SUNY has a maritime campus in New York City. It's under one of the bridges. American maritime was in decline and they were trying to figure out how to attract more students and they wanted to introduce international business into the maritime curriculum. I made several visits there studying what they do, what a maritime academy does, and made a series of recommendations to them.

Another consulting assignment I should mention was for the state of New Jersey, whose education commissioner asked me to do some financial and comparative analysis. At the time I was offering the seminar on Financing Higher Education. My students took on the job on the understanding they would vote on what to do with the fee. I reviewed and submitted the results. New Jersey was happy. The fee paid for a feast at Narsai's on Colusa, featuring his pomegranate lamb and excellent wine.

Gratitude for the Land Grant University

LaBerge: We were talking about a title all through this. We want to change the title?

##

Cheit: Yes, you'll recall I thought about calling it *Grateful Son of the Land Grant University*. Earlier

I told you son and servant, but I will drop the "servant" part. Let others decide whether or not I was a servant, but I know I'm a grateful son.

LaBerge: I know you're a grateful servant, too, so I'll put that in. [laughter]

Cheit: I'll let others do that and I'll decide on a title later. But I do want to say that the land grant college, now university, has always been important to me. First, as a reality, because I could not have gone on to higher education--I was the first one in my family--except for the fact that the University of Minnesota, a land grant institution, enabled me to go. I've forgotten the exact amount, but I think it was forty-five dollars a semester. In any case, it was a very modest sum. At the time, I didn't give it a lot of thought; I just went.

Then, later, as I began to think more about the education of the young, and particularly after I started thinking seriously about higher education when I became a professor, I realized the extent to which that original Morrill Act in the nineteenth century has been so effective. We all know about the G.I. Bill, which made education available to the G.I.s after World War II, and what a powerful influence it was in shifting higher education from an elite to a mass basis. But it was the Morrill Act that started opening it up originally.

When I was dean, I was always struck by the extent to which the business school, particularly the undergraduate school, attracted young people whose modest means and immigrant parents reminded me of myself. When I was dean the first time, I had someone check the numbers and I found that the median income of the parents of our undergraduate students was the second lowest in the university. Only engineering was lower, and not much.

We attract low-income young people, and provide an avenue for upward mobility. To me, it is the ideal of this place. Others have extended the ideal. Robert Gordon Sproul, to his great credit, did something else with that ideal. I'll comment on that in a minute.

The land grant institution has always been interesting to me. When I worked for the Carnegie Commission and did that book on *The Useful Arts and the Liberal Tradition*, I studied the Morrill Acts; there were more than one. At the time, people spoke about the legislation in glowing terms. I looked that up in anticipation of our interview today, at the time it was called "democracy's college." And it was called the "common man's educational bill of rights."

As you know, the Morrill Act was part of the great Populist Era, in which the rights of the common man were a motivating force for political energy. The Morrill Act opened up higher education to sons and daughters of farmers and mechanics. That's why you still have colleges around the country called A & M, Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges. So clearly the Morrill Act, in establishing these land grant institutions, was an enormously important event in the life of America.

Since it touched me so personally--this is more confessional than I had intended to be--I've always felt a deep, personal gratitude to the land grant college. June and I don't have a lot of money, but measured by our means we donate generously to the university and to Mills College; we have established a scholarship with the California Alumni Association, the Cheit Family Scholarship, to make available the advantages of Cal to young people.

LaBerge: Did you specify for a certain--

Cheit: The Alumni Association has what it calls "leadership scholarships." Our scholarship is for anyone who qualifies for admission to Cal, and who shows evidence of leadership. The Alumni Association does the choosing and the awarding of the money.

LaBerge: I notice you call your scholarship the Cheit Family Scholarship. Have all of your children had a relationship to Cal?

Cheit: Yes, very much so. Let me tell you a little about each, starting with our oldest daughter, Wendy. She attended rec school, became a swimming instructor at Strawberry Canyon Pool, and eventually a lifeguard. She was an excellent swimmer and once pulled a young boy, who was in danger of drowning, out of the surf in Hawaii.

LaBerge: Wow! What about the others?

Cheit: Nothing that dramatic that I know about. [laughs] I've mentioned David earlier and that he played in the jazz band. He is an L&S and Boalt Hall graduate. Ross earned his Ph.D. in public policy and is also a graduate of Boalt and was a graduate student instructor in the School of Public Policy. Julie, our youngest, finished her first two years at Cal, was a volunteer usher at Cal Performances both years. I've mentioned her arts interest. She was stage manager for a production of "Look Back in Anger" in New York, and a producer of the revival of *Damn Yankees*.

LaBerge: Do you want to mention when you established that scholarship?

Cheit: We did that on the occasion of our fiftieth [anniversary]. Instead of any other kind of presents, that was our present to ourselves, I guess, it was kind of a self-indulgent present, to create this scholarship. Anyway, I've always felt very indebted. We have included the university and Mills College in our wills.

I told you, just listening to *Bleak House*, one of the lesser characters says, "without putting too fine a point on it." [laughter] Well, I will now say, without putting too fine a point on it, I felt gratitude, and I felt that the ideal of the land grant institution is one of the more powerful ideals in this country. And not just ideal, but reality.

But support for higher education is changing. If you go back to the Depression era, the University of California was probably getting 95 percent of its operating budget from the state of California. That's a guess. Today it's more like 20 percent.

One aspect of Clark Kerr's great genius was that in the Master Plan he formalized the social contract between the university and the state of California. For some years now the state has been breaking that social contract. I mentioned Robert Gordon Sproul because, in my mind, he was the one in the Depression who first articulated the idea that I think is now the salient characteristic of Berkeley, which is to be an open land grant institution offering admission to people of modest means, and yet to be as good as or better than the most elite private institution.



The Cheit family, gathering for Budd's 75th birthday, August 2001. Front, L-R: Andrew Cheit, June, Budd, Noah Frank. Center: Kathy Odean, Ann Devereux, Ross Cheit, Julie Ross, David Cheit, Dana Cheit. Rear: Wendy Cheit, Robert Fried, Mark Ladner.

Photo by Peg Skorpinski



June Cheit, August 2001.

Photo by Peg Skorpinski

Opportunity and excellence. His biography points out that in the depths of the Depression the legislature cut our budget. He went to Sacramento, and argued that the legislature should restore the money. He was confronted with the argument that there were a lot of unemployed teachers in California, why do you have to hire teachers from around the country, or from around the world? Sproul said something like, "I'm anguished that there are unemployed teachers in California, but the University of California cannot just hire any unemployed teacher. It has to look around the country and around the world because its aspiration is to be the very best." That idea, he articulated then has become our standard. Opportunity and excellence.

It's really an audacious aspiration, when you think about it. Because, we want to be public and open, but not like the post office, where the pens don't work, the steps are worn, and people are overwhelmed by the burdens. We want to be open and at the same time, as good as the places that have much more money, like Stanford. As dean, I always told my alums, Stanford has half my students and twice my budget. That margin is probably still the same. So how does a land grant institution compete with people with that kind of money? It must compete in a very tough labor market for faculty and the best graduate students. That's the challenge that our leadership has.

If you go back and look at Chancellor Berdahl's inaugural speech, he stressed his commitment to maintaining the ideals of the land grant institution, and how important that was. I've rambled here a bit, but the answer is that I feel grateful to the land grant institution. Much of my motivation has been out of gratitude to having an opportunity that would not have been available to me, had there not been a land grant institution.

Priorities

LaBerge: I have one more question. Through all your life, you have managed to stay down to earth, to stay that boy from Hague, I think, even with all the people that you've met and the high profile jobs you've had. How have you done it? How have you kept your priorities straight?

Cheit: It's hard to answer that without sounding self-serving. Hague--the small town--was and is a big influence in my life. I was given responsibility at an early age. Small town life fosters a sense of individual responsibility, and of caring when tragedy strikes one's family. At work, I've always looked at teaching as my main job, even though I've worked in other jobs at various times. But the contact with the students was what this was all about.

From my father I learned the maxim of "always live below your means," so I've always lived below my means, which is why we still live in the same place. We've lived in the same house for forty-five years, and were pleased to be able, on our fiftieth anniversary, to create a scholarship. And I've always remembered his admonition when I asked about working on the farm: "Don't Quit."

I was helped by my wife. June would do whatever I asked, but first she would always ask the tough questions. When I was invited to stay at the Ford Foundation, I admit I was sort of dazzled by the beauty of 320 East Forty-third Street, that beautiful Kevin Roche building. The life of a foundation official is seductive. But June would always ask the penetrating questions, and she was very helpful to my realization that I should come back here, and come back to the academy. I don't know whether that's a response to your question or not, but let me leave it at that.

LaBerge: I'm just going to end it by thanking you for taking the time to do this, and thanking you for your service to the university, which I think is unprecedented.

Cheit: And I want to thank you for interviewing me. You are an excellent interviewer.

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Earl F. Cheit

Business Administration

Distinguished Teaching Award: 1989

Statement written: 1989



My overall teaching goal is probably the same as that of all faculty members who are enthusiastic about teaching—student success. I have had the opportunity to work toward that goal both as faculty member in several departments, in classes at all levels (undergraduate, M.B.A., Ph.D., and Executive Education), ranging in size from small seminars to one of the largest classes on campus (Economics 1 A-B in Wheeler Auditorium), and as dean of the School of Business from 1976 to 1982.

A dean can challenge one of the myths about Berkeley—that its research ethos is so dominant that excellent instruction is an exception, not the rule. In the Business School, I created a student-administered award for outstanding teaching. The students contested the myth in the most convincing way—by providing their own evidence. Each year the student committee has difficulty choosing faculty winners, not for lack of nominees, but because their fellow students have nominated so many.

In my own teaching I try to create classroom conditions that foster student success, long-term as well as in the course, and work to achieve three specific goals: insofar as possible, to make my teaching and research joint products; as a faculty member in a professional school, to combine the useful arts with the liberal tradition; to help students strengthen their ability to write and speak effectively.

During my career at Berkeley, I have introduced new courses based on my research and have used my courses to further my research. For example, three new courses grew out of work that later became monographs. My interest in higher education led me to study the role of professional education in the university and the relationship of the new professional schools to their parent universities. For the School of Education, I taught an experimental course, *The Origins and Directions of the New Professional Schools*, in which we met at each school (the School of Forestry, the School of Agriculture, the School of Engineering, and so on), and I invited faculty and students of the

school to attend. Many did, and I recall that course with a special fondness. It helped me understand how my colleagues in other professional schools contend with the problem captured in Whitehead's famous observation that the danger of an excellent technical education is its tendency to destroy those energies of mind needed to direct the skill.

In my courses, and in my work as dean, I have tried to find ways to maintain the appropriate balance between competing academic and professional interests, to strengthen those energies of mind needed to direct the skill.

Since the late 1950s, when my Economics 1 A-B classes were among the first to join in an experiment led by Josephine Miles of the English Department, I have designed courses and examinations to strengthen the writing ability of students. In my large undergraduate classes, students keep a journal. Their spirited engagement sustains my enthusiasm and renews my energy.

The Cheit Family Scholarship

The University of California at Berkeley has been part of the life of every member of the extended Cheit family. Four of us have taught at Berkeley, one on the faculty, one as a graduate student instructor, and two in auxiliary service programs. One of us served as Dean of the Haas School of Business and in other administrative capacities. Five of us attended Cal as undergraduates, three earned graduate degrees and three studied in advanced placement and summer programs. Including summers at the Lair, three generations of the Cheit family have lived, worked, studied and played in Bear Territory.

The importance of the University, not just to us but to everyone it serves, has inspired us to volunteer our services at the Bancroft Library, the Student Co-op Association, the Botanical Garden, the UC Press, Intercollegiate Athletics, Cal Performances and the Haas School of Business.

Through this scholarship, we are pleased to help future generations of students gain access to Cal's unique opportunities.

Earl and June Cheit

Earl F. Cheit's remarks at a panel discussion on the Free Speech Movement at the American Association of Universities' meeting on the Berkeley campus, Fall 1998

Although the FSM had a short life, the organization and those that soon followed it spanned three Berkeley campus administrations. As AAU delegates know well, these two conditions—student political movements and turnover in campus administrations—are not unrelated.

The FSM began partly in response to actions by the administration of Chancellor Ed Strong (Mills Professor of Moral Philosophy). Ten weeks later, the Regents asked for his resignation. Martin Meyerson, Dean of Environmental Design, was appointed acting Chancellor in January 1965. His administration lasted until August 15, 1965, when Roger Heyns, Social Psychologist and VP at Michigan, became Chancellor.

As to my role, I was a faculty member when the FSM began. I voted for the famous December 8 resolution, but opposed and spoke against one of its three parts, namely, that disciplinary matters in the area of political activity be determined by the academic senate. Perhaps because of that, I was elected to the academic senate's emergency executive committee. We worked with Chancellor Meyerson as he tried to develop campus rules to codify the FSM's views about on campus political activity, and we met with the Regents urging them to give the Chancellor room to make his own decisions.

One of his decisions—a threatened joint resignation with Clark Kerr—damaged his chances to become Chancellor. He and Kerr acted in response to Regents' outrage over an incident that provided one of the few bits of humor those days.

On March 3, 1965, a young man, not a student, came on campus, sat on the Sproul Steps, and held up a sign displaying what was then the ultimate four letter word. Others began to chant it. Long before there was a CNN, the campus had 24-hour news coverage. The sign and the chanting instantly became news and were promptly dubbed the Filthy Speech Movement. Key Regents demanded discipline for those involved. Kerr and Meyerson told the press that if the Regents interfered with campus procedures, they would resign.

Amid the hubbub, the student newspaper asked the young man why he did it. He said, "I didn't mean to cause trouble. It's just a subject I've been thinking a lot about lately."

I was Roger Heyns' executive vice-chancellor. The FSM was gone, but there was a growing anti-war movement, an emerging black power movement, and more than a little adventurism. In his *Soul on Ice*, Eldridge Cleaver says: "I'd just love to be in Berkeley right now, to roll in that mud, frolic in that sty of funky revolution, to breathe in its heady fumes..." Those of us in the administration found it easy to restrain our enthusiasm for funky revolution, but not for our leader. Roger Heyns, I would guess, was known to many of you, so I need not tell why he was so admired and respected, even by his adversaries.

As for the Heyns' administration's viewpoint of the FSM, it is best illustrated by the fact that the Chancellor appointed two bright young faculty members who advocated the FSM position, John Searle and Robert Cole. Professor Cole drafted the time, place, and manner rules, which, today, still apply. Our top priority was to regain the University's ability to govern its own affairs. We were seriously challenged on campus by people who defied University authority, and around the state on the board, by people who wanted to dictate how that authority should be used.

The story of how that goal was reached is too long for this occasion. But there is unfinished business. Other AAU sessions are dealing with race and finance. In my remaining time, I'd like to mention three other issues.

As you've heard today, the FSM had a profound influence on the lives of many students, faculty, and administrators. The events that followed also had a profound influence on the relationship of the University to its students, faculty, the community, and the conception and conduct of its own affairs. I will comment briefly on three issues of unfinished business: one, differentiating the campus from the city street in maintaining a learning environment. In the residence halls? It is hard to distinguish residence halls from commercial hotels. Recall Yale's legal struggle to require students to live in campus residences for one year.

Speech rights? In city nightclubs, topless dancing is a court protected speech right. Why not on campus? A few years ago a Berkeley student tried a variant of the idea by coming to class totally nude. (Not totally: he wore sandals and a backpack.) Chancellor Tien found he had no basis to prevent this. He created a rule, and to his great relief, it was not legally tested.

In the use of facilities? This has a commercial side. The nude guy was getting publicity for a book. University property is valuable for raising money. The most serious destruction of property on this campus in the 1960s was in this building. It was set afire shortly after the administration stopped a commercial movie enterprise with a student front. Commercial norms have gained a hold on our campuses, as Bob Cole will probably talk about.

The second piece of unfinished business—restoring inner direction— is closely related to the first. Our institutions, as Eric Ashby has shown, are shaped fundamentally by three forces: patrons (public and private), the market (particularly through student choices), and inner direction, the faculty's shared commitment to the values and mission of the institution. The balance shifts over time, but in recent decades, inner direction has diminished. Part is due to the growth of knowledge, increased specialization, allegiance to discipline rather than institution, but part is also due to divisions that began in the 60s. As inner direction has weakened, others have become more important in defining who we are and what we should stand for. Thus the rise in influence and credibility of magazine polls.

Finally, the third area of unfinished business is what I've called remaining academic, though accountable. Whatever else Universities have become, they have become accountable to a system of expanded tort liability, regulation, and an expansion of rights. Sociologists sometimes say that a measure of progress is the conversion of an ideal to a procedure. By that measure, we are moving ahead at dangerous speeds. Professor Cole's half dozen well-spaced pages have become about 15 single-spaced pages, with two appendices and reference to 17 separate policy statements dealing with individual issues. I don't have time to give examples, but anyone who has tried to get something done knows what I mean.

Did the student movements of the 1960s cause these issues? Of course not. Are the events of the 60s irrelevant to them? Of course not.

They are related in a complex way, perhaps similar to the complex way that prohibition was related to the great progressive movement that preceded it by several decades.

I want to avoid the fallacy of: before, therefore because. So I'll emphasize the point by closing with its technical form: Post hoc, ergo...ham hoc.

Transcript of Chancellor Chang-Lin Tien's Introduction of Budd Cheit at Cheit Hall Naming Ceremony, May 6, 1995

I don't know whether you noticed today that every program is ahead of the schedule. We have been so excited and enthusiastic, we couldn't wait.

The easiest way for me to describe Budd Cheit's service to the university is that he has held more jobs here than anyone I know and all top jobs. He joined the faculty in 1967, 38 years ago. In 1983, he was elected to the *Edgar F. Kaiser Chair in Business and Public Policy*. Here are some of the other jobs he has held: he served as dean of the business school from 1976 to 82, and 1990 and 1991 before Bill Hasler arrived. He also served as associate director of the Institute of Industrial Relations. Also, acting as my boss at the time – big boss – he was executive vice chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley in 1965 to 69, not exactly smooth sailing. He also served as acting vice president of Business Operations for the entire University of California and another very exciting job which I hope I can get – acting athletic director.

He was also one who held other responsible jobs. I have already left a few out but there are two other roles I want to mention. Budd has served as the chairman of the committee that oversees Cal Performances, yet another important Cal commitment. He was also a member of the Board of Control of the UC Press where he served as chairman of the Finance Committee.

When I became chancellor, the first thing I asked was to have Budd as my advisor. He has led so many different searches for the campus. He also received the Chancellor's Award from the UC Berkeley Foundation for his leadership of several campus fund-raising campaigns. He has also been awarded the Berkeley Medal. Budd is a truly fantastic person, a master of so many areas – he has always made it all look so easy. Personally, I find that Budd is such a thoughtful, kind, fantastic human being. We treasure you – you are such a great person. We are fortunate here at Cal to have had Budd with us for so many years. And now I believe Dean Hasler has a presentation to make to Dean Emeritus Cheit.

Earl F. Cheit**Remarks on the occasion of the
naming ceremony for Cheit Hall**

**Haas School of Business
University of California, Berkeley**

May 6, 1995

Thank you very much Chang-Lin and Bill. I'm delighted to accept both this key to Cheit Hall and your invitation to say a few words. If Walter Haas were here, he would say "keep it short."

Your reference to me as "Dean Emeritus," reminds me, that, in most occupations when you retire, you're retired. But when you retire as an academic, you become Emeritus. Our dear friend—and Walter Haas's dear friend—E. T. Grether had the last word on being Dean Emeritus. Many of you have heard his story, but I'll tell it once more.

Shortly after he became Dean Emeritus, Greth was walking on a Berkeley street and a citizen said, "Oh Dean Grether, I saw that you won a new honor." He didn't know what the fellow was talking about, so he said, "Oh, thank you, thank you."

"I see they've made you Dean Em-or-rye-tis." Dean Grether said, "Oh, thank you, thank you," and edged away. But this Berkeley fellow persisted. "You know," he said, "a great man like you, they should have given you that honor a *long* time ago!"

I suspect that some of my colleagues may have felt the same way about *this* Dean Em-or-rye-tis.

Since those letters were put up on this building, I've been asked many times, "what does it feel like to have your name on a building?" And my answer is, "that it makes one feel both humbled and honored." As for feeling humble, Chancellor Tien, in recounting my many jobs, you pointed out that I've had more than my share of opportunities to learn humility. So I feel qualified. Serving as Executive Vice-Chancellor during the 1960s

was wonderful preparation. And in case I didn't learn enough, I became Vice-President. Explaining to the Regents the great achievements of my administration was an advanced course in humility, believe me.

Then I became Dean—twice. I learned that faculty members are very generous. They gave unstintingly of their time, pointing out my shortcomings. Then I became acting athletic director. I had the exhilaration, real exhilaration, of bringing home the axe.

And I oversaw a won-lost record in football that still looks pretty good today. But I must say that being athletic director also taught humility. I had promised, indeed bragged shamelessly, that when our football Bears went to the Alamo Bowl, I would end my term (before John Kasser arrived), by bringing home the Alamo Bowl trophy. As you know, the team won a smashing victory. At the end, I went down on the field where the players were celebrating to grab the trophy. But it was too heavy. I couldn't lift it.

So when I say I feel humble—I hope it's in the exact measure that Golda Meir advised Henry Kissinger to feel. Kissinger was being honored in Israel and he started to say how humble it made him feel when Golda's wonderful baritone voice broke in: "Don't be too humble, Henry, you're not that great."

A name on this building makes one feel honored for obvious reasons. First, the association with Walter Haas. This naming ceremony represents an ideal—service to Cal. No alumnus lived that ideal more fully than Walter Haas. As everyone familiar with this campus knows, he served it in so many thoughtful ways. He and his wife Elise even created an international award for a foreign alumnus who gives distinguished service in his or her's home country. His business career and the company he shaped over many years, stand as models for students today. Models both of business leadership and of leadership in the larger community.

I can truly think of no better fit between alumnus and school, and I could wish for no greater honor than for Cheit Hall to be part of the Walter A. Haas School.

I have been at Cal since 1957. I know something about what goes on in these classrooms. It's a great honor to be associated with the teaching done by the Haas School faculty, for whom I have tremendous admiration. Cheit Hall will gain fame, not from the name outside the walls, but from the work that is done inside its walls.

Cheit Hall is a classroom building, so even this brief naming ceremony should do some teaching. I'd like to mention several lessons that the gift of this business school represents.

1. In a time when the nation's dominant public policy question is how big a burden this generation will impose on the next, we are celebrating because this generation is presenting a generous gift to the next. So the first lesson is: ***intergenerational generosity***.

2. There's a second lesson, ***filial piety***, devotion to parents. Devotion to parents does not make the evening news. But it is the value that made this new school possible. It was in honor of their father that the Haas children made the largest single gift in Cal's history. As you tour this building, you will find information about other gifts that were made to honor parents.

3. There's a third lesson represented by this gift, and that is, ***students are the highest priority in this new facility***. As you tour the other wings, you will discover that the library, the reading areas, computer center, career center, group project rooms, study carrels, activity offices, and other student facilities comprise the most important space in this building.

4. The next lesson is the ***importance of a great business school***. Because this is Berkeley, no good venture goes unchallenged. Looking back now, we can see that the early challenge to the project was extremely helpful. It brought to the fore the question: "Does Cal really need a great business school?" Chancellor Tien, gave the campus's answer in about the same number of words he often does: "Yes!" And his reasoning was equally concise: "A great business school is essential to a great university."

5. Not long ago, June and I attended a lecture, on the psychological characteristics of healthy people. It was a study of people who retained good health in advanced age. A key finding, was that healthy people “are not self-indulgent but are committed to goals other than their own personal welfare.” So now, every time I look at this Haas School, I see evidence of 2,000 donors **taking care of their health**. That’s the fifth lesson of this new building.

6. The final lesson is obvious, but needs saying. *A big project needs many hands*. You know that, of course, so many of you pitched in. Some names have been mentioned by speakers today, many others are on the wall of donors. All of you had an important part to play. But I remind us that a big project needs many hands, because death has taken three people whose work is important to this occasion: Dean Grether, Steve White, and Charles Moore.

Over a long career, Greth transformed the school and recruited a faculty whose high standards still shape its work. Very early in this project, when there was danger it might stall, Steve White, as advisory board chairman, put it on track. And Charles Moore, the principal architect, died before his building was complete. But his design skills have left us an invaluable legacy.

Now, I’d like to offer a few personal messages of thanks, and then make a short observation about what Cal and the Haas School have meant to me. The first message of thanks, is to you Chang-Lin. I want you to know that you have my strongest respect for your thoughtful and resolute support for this project.

Bill, I want to say how much I admire the skillful way you’ve handled the tough job, and it really is a tough job, of being the steward of this important gift. My thanks to you.

To Wally and Evie Haas, to Peter and Mimi Haas, Rhoda and Dick Goldman, and their families, I want to repeat my deepest thanks for your unique and historic gift, and for associating me with it.

To Don and Doris Fisher, your gift provided major leadership. You are the second largest supporters of this project. It occurred to me, Don, with the Fisher Gate there and the Cheit Hall here, we're joined at the hip. So I feel a special kinship to you. I also want you to know how much I admire your support and your leadership as chairman of the school's advisory board.

Fifteen members of my family from all over the country are here for this ceremony. I won't introduce each of my four children, their spouses, my three grandchildren, my sister and her husband, and two nephews. But I say to them, I give you my love and my appreciation. And especially, I want to give my loving thanks to June, for all the reasons she knows well.

And finally—You know the definition of an optimist: someone who reaches for his car keys when the speaker says, “and finally.”

And finally, a brief word about what Cal and the Haas School have meant to me. The opportunity to serve this university has meant a chance to be associated with its unique mission. This is a land-grant institution. A hundred and twenty-seven years ago, its first goals were opportunity and service. Early on, but especially in President Robert Sproul's administration, the goal of excellence was given equal importance. When you think about it, it's an audacious mission, making excellence as important as opportunity and service, to extend opportunity and at the same time to be as good as or better than the most elite private institutions anywhere. It's a unique mission in public higher education.

That is why Cal alumni feel so possessive about this place. They know that it's unique. And this business school has represented that ideal as well as, or indeed, better than, any other part of this campus. That is why I regard my service to this university and to this business school truly as a privilege. And as long as this campus keeps its commitment to that mission, many others will be willing to do what I have done.

October 30, 1995

Excellence in Teaching: The Cheit Tradition

by Don Ferguson

[\[HaasWeek Home\]](#) [\[Current Issue\]](#)

"So who exactly *is* Cheit and how do I pronounce it?" you have probably found yourself wondering during a momentary lapse of concentration on the technicalities of double marginalization or Modigliani-Miller.

Earl F. "Budd" Cheit (rhymes with "right"), who will be 70 next year, held and continues to hold a bewildering variety of posts on campus. First appointed as an associate professor in 1960, he taught a new elective course called "The Social and Political Environment of Business." This course has since become part of the MBA core as Business and Public Policy. He subsequently served as dean of the business school--twice!-- and as executive vice chancellor of Cal in the 1960s, and then as acting vice president of financial and business Management for the entire University of California in the 1980s.

At the dedication ceremony for the new building, Chancellor Chang Lin Tien described Cheit as having had "more jobs at this university than anyone I have heard of."

In yet another remarkable entry on his resume, Cheit was appointed interim athletic director for five months in 1993-94. "Being AD was a delight," Cheit recalled. "I learned a lot and one thing really stuck with me--the idealistic ethos of the athletic department. The coaches really care about the student-athletes, they see themselves like faculty."

Cheit played a crucial role in getting the new school built. One of the first things he did when he was appointed dean in 1976 was to visit Walter A. Haas, Sr., the head of Levi Strauss and an alumnus of the class of 1910. They discussed the need for a new building for the business school and the possibility that Haas might be able to contribute to its construction. Thus were the seeds sown.

In 1988, after Haas, Sr. died, his two sons and daughter agreed to give \$15 million toward the new school. In recognition, Dean Ray Miles recommended that the new school be named for their father.

Later in the fundraising campaign, the Haases gave an additional \$8.75 million. They also wanted to recognize Cheit's service to Cal and his key role in getting the new school built and requested that one of the new buildings, of his choice, be named after him.

Cheit is a big fan of the MBA program and its students. "I have admired the MBA program because it attracts some of the best students anywhere. It always had social consciousness components that I think make it unique."

"Being a professor is very satisfying; teaching MBAs is such a pleasure...I used to needle my colleagues who complained about their teaching load that they should consider it a privilege to teach here!"

Cheit's one overriding concern at the school has been the quality of its teaching. When asked which of the buildings he would like named in his honor, he quickly chose the classroom wing. "I have taught in Cheit Hall. It's a strange experience, which I haven't fully absorbed yet."

In 1981, alumni raised money to recognize Cheit's contributions as dean and to endow the "Earl F. Cheit Award for Outstanding Teaching." This award is voted on every year by the students at Haas, and is considered the highest honor a faculty member can earn at the school. It is one of Cheit's proudest achievements that students voted to give him his own award for teaching in 1987. In addition, the UC Berkeley Academic Senate awarded him a distinguished teaching award in 1989.

Cheit still teaches global economic trends in the executive program, and recently taught in Amsterdam on trade policy and the Pacific economies. However, a hectic travel schedule has kept him from returning to the MBA program.

Cheit currently has three major on-campus roles unconnected with the business school. He is an advisor to Chancellor Tien and chairman of the finance committee of UC Press, a university-subsidized publishing house which generates \$13.5 million in annual revenues and won the right to publish the memoirs of Martin Luther King on the basis of its excellence.

Cheit has also served as the chairman of the advisory committee of Cal Performances since its inception over a decade ago, continuing his deep involvement in arts on the Berkeley campus since Zellerbach Hall was built in 1965. The Cal Performances advisory committee comprises faculty and student representatives and is responsible for reviewing the programming, financing and direction of the organization with its director, Robert Cole. "Under Robert Cole," says Cheit, "Cal Performances has become the most important dance stage outside New York. I think we rival New York in many ways."

Cal Performances presents over 90 shows a year, covering classical music of all kinds, dance, jazz, so-called 'world music' and some theater. Cheit is particularly proud of the "very large SchoolTime program, which organizes special performances for 20,000 mostly East Bay grade school children a year. It is absolutely inspiring to be in the Hall with 2,240 children."

Referring to his policy of non-involvement in school politicking since his retirement as dean, Cheit jokes: "I may or may not have been a good dean, but I'm a wonderful ex-dean." Cheit has no plans to retire from his many activities. "I want to stay active in the University. It's a place of idealism, a place of youth. I draw a lot of energy from idealism and youth."

EARL F. CHEIT
December 3, 1995

IN APPRECIATION OF ROGER W. HEYNS

When Roger Heyns became Chancellor at Berkeley in 1965, University Drive, the east/west road through campus (that we just crossed) was open to motorists, and to parking. It was convenient—a well-used road in a beautiful place with many pedestrians. Naturally it evoked the feelings people have about roads in those circumstances: passive love/hate.

These passive feelings became more active in 1967, as people became aware that plans for the new Moffitt Library relocated the road right through this grove of trees. Now, in the late 1960s, campus roads could hardly compete for time in a Chancellor's staff meeting. But this one did. Many people had strong feelings about the merits; and this was an issue the Office of the Chancellor might actually be able to do something about. It did. The Heyns administration did the right thing, after two false starts.

False start number one was the Chancellor's bold idea—No road. Brilliant, we all thought. After due notice, we closed it. Experimentally. Couldn't the campus get along without this road? Quickly the Chancellor learned the answer. It came to him from fire marshals, ambulance drivers, police chiefs, delivery drivers, and inconvenienced faculty and staff.

False start number two came in the following summer: modify the original site plan for library and road. This would spare some threatened trees. No way. The Chancellor was deluged by letters and calls. Howard Mel, a quiet, serious scientist, was planning a protest on the site. He enlisted a famous composer, Andrew Imbrie, to write music for the occasion. The working title: "Ode to a Chain Saw."

Chancellor Heyns suffered from no shortage of pressing concerns, but he found time to schedule a special meeting to review all the evidence and decide—on a Saturday, at University House. Friday night, at the Faculty Club Christmas party, Howard pleaded with Roger, "Can't you reverse the decision?" "Call me late tomorrow morning," the Chancellor replied.

You know the result—the Chancellor ordered that the site plan for the Moffitt Library be redesigned. The new road would not be a straight line, but by taking some attractive turns, it would go around the trees, and it would not be open to regular traffic.

Not everyone was happy. But eventually the open-roaders recognized it as the right decision. Roger was most happy with the result. Characteristically, he gave the credit to others. His oral history says, "I thought the solution that the campus architect and landscape architect arrived at was quite ingenuous." Instead of a protest, Howard, Andrew and their co-conspirators arranged a warm and

delightful ceremony on June 9, 1965. Roger had to be away—probably at a Regent's meeting, so I represented the Office of the Chancellor.

Here are a few excerpts from the *San Francisco Chronicle* of June 10, 1965.

[Excerpt]

Many people have earned our thanks for this splendid occasion—musicians, composers, organizers, and agitators. I want to give special thanks to June for suggesting this memorial.

And I want to thank you, Chang-Lin, for making the Heyns Grove possible. The Heyns Grove is a highly appropriate **physical** memorial—these are, after all, the trees that he saved a quarter-century ago.

But the Heyns Grove is also a highly appropriate **symbolic** memorial. In talking about Roger Heyns, Chancellor Tien emphasizes that yes, he held the campus together in turbulent times. But he also did much more: vital parts of campus life today can be linked directly to Chancellor Heyns' initiatives in undergraduate education, student access, equality of opportunity, the campus environment, the ecological study areas, and academic freedom.

So it is most fitting that we are dedicating this Roger Heyns Grove. It stands near the center of the campus—a living symbol of the central and enduring role that Chancellor Heyns played in the life of the University.

EARL F. CHEIT
Haas School of Business
University of California

**BRIEFING MEETING WITH
AMBASSADOR WALTER MONDALE, SAN FRANCISCO
AUGUST 19, 1993**

Mr. Ambassador, when the Golden Gate Bridge was planned, a Geology Professor at Cal assured the designers that it would withstand earthquakes. In a lawsuit to block the bridge, Professor Lawson was mocked in cross-examination. "Are you a great Geologist?" "Yes." "Best in the country?" "Yes." "In the world?" "Well..., yes." The headlines embarrassed the University President, who asked him: "Why did you give those answers?" "They embarrassed me, too," said the Professor, "but I had to. I was under oath!"

I am not under oath, but I am under a time limit of seven and a half minutes. Something had to be cut, so I dropped all modest disclaimers. My assignment is to answer two audacious questions:

Question #1: What would I do if I were the Ambassador?

I would go with optimism. The U.S. and Japan may be the odd couple of the world, but the relationship is in reasonably good shape, and can be strengthened.

I would spend a lot of time thinking about America's long-term interests and about a new theory for the relationship. In the old post-occupation theory, everything was subordinated to the needs of mutual security. Japan was a reliable

security partner; the U.S. helped her enter the world trading system. Japan was permitted to hide behind U.S. skirts and avoid taking international policy risks. The U.S. could make demands for domestic change. Japan could decline to change. The theory worked well. But now Japan is a major economic power and security requirements have changed. The relationship needs a better theory.

As Ambassador I would work to have the new theory reflect four important changes: (1) the U.S. should see its security interests more broadly--stability and peaceful change in the region; (2) the U.S. should assert its economic interest, not occasionally in high profile episodes, but steadily in all areas. My short-run concerns would be market access, both trade and investment, and better coordination of macro economic policies. But I would also promote longer-term U.S. economic development; (3) as I worked to achieve American aims, I would be sensitive to Japan's needs to advance her interests. Japan wants to complete her reform movement and earn an international identity more modern than that of an insecure island nation that must be self-reliant in agriculture. Japan wants to be more important in international matters and longs for a seat on the Security Council; and increasingly, Japan wants to realize more domestic benefits from her economic strength. These Japanese interests should create opportunities for American aims. Finally, as Ambassador, I would work to strengthen the Pacific Economic Cooperation movement, through PECC and APEC. This takes me to audacious question #2.

Question #2: What should you know?

You should know that the Pacific Economic Cooperation movement is growing, is shaping significant events, and that the U.S. and Japan play key cooperative roles in its leadership. The PECC (Pacific Economic Cooperation Council) was founded in Canberra in 1980. The late Prime Minister Ohira was one of its founders. He eloquently expressed the vision of the Pacific becoming an open region. In a White House Rose Garden ceremony in 1984, the U.S. created a National Committee for PECC. Its West Coast office is here.

The Council has become the dominant forum in the Pacific. It now has 20 member economies; in 1986 it brought together in a working relationship China and Taiwan, and Korea and China.

The Council has two main goals: to strengthen the multilateral system, and to create an Open Pacific Region. In its early years, the Council emphasized the global goal. In various ways, it has supported the GATT round.

In 1988, the Council began to put its emphasis on the Region. It asked the U.S. and Japan to do economic analyses of the Pacific and thereby created a strong partnership, now in its fifth year. The U.S. prepares a short-term economic forecast, called the PEO. Japan prepares structural studies. The structural work is done in Osaka. The forecast work is centered here in San Francisco. In 1989, the Council facilitated the formation of APEC, the official government forum. The PEO is used by APEC, and by governments and businesses in the Pacific region.

In 1990, given its strong record, San Francisco was chosen from among the bids of a half-dozen U.S. cities to convene a major Pacific meeting on the theme of "open regionalism".

Council members here analyzed the elements of an open region. Over a long period, representatives from the 20 Pacific economies reached agreement on a statement and, on September 25, 1992, in an impressive ceremony a few blocks from here (and a few blocks from where the U.N. Charter was signed), representatives from the 20 economies signed the San Francisco Declaration.

The U.S. and Japan worked in close cooperation on the declaration. Ambassador Matsunaga, who leads Japan's Committee for PECC, was especially important. He signed for Japan. The Declaration sets forth the five elements of an open region, shows that such a region will strengthen the global system, and commits the Council to work for an open region.

In its short life of 11 months, the San Francisco Declaration has become a focal point of discussion in the Pacific. PBEC, the business group in the Pacific, in its 1993 meeting just completed in Seoul, made *open regionalism* the theme of its work. PECC X, which will convene in Kuala Lumpur next March, will focus on measures to implement the Declaration.

The Declaration calls for extending the scope of regional harmonization and common standards beyond the Uruguay Round agenda. Immediately after the San Francisco meeting Council members went to work on a key area for common

standards, one that greatly concerns the U.S. and Japan--investment. In early November, here in San Francisco, the Asia Foundation will convene a conference of business and professional people to review a draft investment agreement and assess its importance for different sectors of the economy.

This work will be important in President Clinton's Pacific Summit in Seattle late in November. The goal of the Seattle meeting is to make APEC an active agent for trade and investment liberalization. Senior officials are preparing for a framework agreement that will incorporate the concept of open regionalism, and set as the first work item for APEC, an investment agreement for the Pacific Region.

So, in sum, I wanted you to know about the intellectual capital that is helping to shape both the U.S./Japan relationship and the Economic Cooperation movement in the region.

Like the bridge I spoke of earlier, I believe that the footing for this effort is solid, but like the bridge, it will require thoughtful and energetic attention to maintain its strength. That is why we are delighted that you will be working on these matters. You can count on us to help.

After the Fall

By Earl F. Cheit

BERKELEY, Calif.—After a week of subterfuge, I've decided to come clean about my leg cast, though not, I hasten to add, because of guilt.

I've just decided to resurrect the facts to add a small footnote to the chronicle of the Great Blizzard of '78. I had come to New York for a meeting on Monday, Feb. 6, and at 3:40 P.M., en route to a subway station, I was crossing First Avenue and 49th Street when I slipped on a small patch of ice and fell on my right leg.

Much later, I learned that the crunch I heard while falling was, as the orthopedist explained, the field of force moving through my ankle, dislocating it, then speeding up my leg to escape through the break it made in the fibula. But at the moment of the fall, all I knew was that I was down in the middle of First Avenue and couldn't move.

No doubt Con Ed workers quickly learn to master the fear produced by this particular perspective on an inter-

section, but I had not. Although the storm was gathering momentum, the intersection was busy. Perhaps 25 to 30 people had witnessed my fall. Their response amazed me. No traffic moved, no one honked at me to get out of the way. For a moment the intersection was still while several people rushed to my aid.

I was dragged quickly through the snow to the curb. A limousine pulled up, and the driver offered to help. Someone remembered that there was a hospital in the area. I was carried into the limousine and remember two things about the trip: first that the driver was identified as the chauffeur of the Japanese Ambassador to the

United Nations, and second, as I was being carried into the hospital, noting that the ambassador preferred an American car. The time elapsed from fall-to-hospital check-in: about five minutes.

If central casting had prepared the New York hospital emergency room scenario, it could not have done better. I was attended initially by a Scandinavian nurse; then I was examined by a young Korean resident. A black woman X-rayed my leg. My dislocation was reduced and the fracture set by an Israeli orthopedic surgeon. The head nurse was Irish; I know because she told me.

It may be too early to judge, but

My New York hospital room cost \$140 a day. Back home, where I needed an additional few days in the hospital for orthopedic treatment, the rate was \$180 a day. The New York hospital administrator understood I didn't have the cash to pay what Blue Cross didn't cover. The bill for the difference was sent home with me to pay later. The hospital at home, Alta Bates, required that I pay the difference in advance of admission.

The other day, I was talking on the telephone to a friend from New York who was surprised to learn I had been caught in town during the big storm. "We were caught in town, too," he said. "A group of us had a great time for two days. Had I known you were here, we would have brought you to the party—you'd have fit right in with that leg cast."

Earl F. Cheit is dean of the Berkeley School of Business of the University of California, Berkeley.

Mexico's unusual venture into hotels among the ruins

AN exercise of imagination wholly uncharacteristic of government ventures into commercial enterprise, the Mexican government last year created a chain of small, specialized hotels — capital provided by an unmovable object, management by an irresistible force — built by government bureau and run by Club Med. The unique aim of this unusual partnership is to promote cultural tourism in Mexico's numerous archaeological ruins by offering attractive, overnight accommodations together with audio-visual educational materials, libraries and guide service.

Almost everything about this new venture is unusual, including its descriptive but ungainly name. Hotels-Villas Arqueologicas. Except for room size and thinning accommodations, the Villas bear no resemblance to the ambience that Club Med has cultivated in its resorts around the world. No money beads at the bar, no arranged social activities — rather the Villas provide for travelers seeking one or two nights' accommodations, clean, modestly priced rooms, comfortable beds, good food, and pool and a tennis court.

In contrast to the management style usually associated with government ownership, the managers of the new business hybrid are cost-conscious, service-oriented, and aggressively promoting new business. The managers have come up through the Club Med training facility in France and have earned their promotions through performance on the job at their facilities around the world. Except for the managers, all employees of the Villas are natives, trained locally. French chefs were brought to Mexico to train local chefs at all locations.

Three of the Villas are situated at the Mayan ruins at Chichen Itza, Coba and Uxmal in Yucatan — each an important center for anyone interested in the history of the unexplained decline of the Mayan civilization after

Earl F. Cheit



the 9th century. A.D. My own hypothesis is that the Mayans may have been the victims of too much government regulation, and during a recent visit to Yucatan, I divided my time between looking for confirming evidence for this theory and trying to discover more about how this partnership of state government ownership and swinging French free enterprise got started and how it functions.

the ruins

The motivation for starting the project is apparent — as the Pope's recent visit dramatized, Mexico's pressing reality is its widespread poverty, despite the fact that the prospects for future oil wealth are what dominate the business news from Mexico.

Last year, income from petroleum exports doubled to \$1.8 billion and tourism rose 10 percent and brought in \$1.4 billion, but the trade deficit jumped significantly. Clearly, Mexico's economic future depends on generating income and employment-producing projects, among other things, exporting more oil and attracting more tourists. In the past few years, the government has accelerated its oil exploration activities, and, since 1973, it has been building hotels. It has expanded its EI (Presidencia chain) to 20 hotels and through financial incentives has been encouraging private development of more tourist facilities — notably in resort areas such as Acapulco, Cozumel and Cancun.

It was at the opening of Club Med Cancun in 1976 that Board Chairman Gilbert Trigano suggested to then President of Mexico, Luis Echeverria, that they undertake a joint tourist project whose attraction would be Mexico's cultural heritage, and which would provide employment in areas outside of established tourist centers. A deal was struck, and the original government proposal for 40 facilities scaled down to 12, five of which have now been built.

The Mexican government chose the style of architecture and three sites — Teotihuacan, Chichén Itza and Uxmal — Club Med chose two sites — Chichén Itza and Uxmal — and assumed charge of operations. The financial split after expenses is 50:50, calculated in a way left unexplained to inquiring visitors.

Can this free-enterprise style of management survive under government ownership? The three managers I

talked with believe that it can. I asked whether the government bureau (Fonatur — the tourist development agency) kept political considerations out of its decision-making. When I explained the finding of Professors Joseph Monsen and Kenneth Walters of the University of Washington, that the nationalized firm tends to become the politicians' free lunch, their response was "Not here. Decisions are made on market criteria, and the government does not interfere. According to the managers, the whole business is run like free enterprise.

It is too early to tell whether the project will be an important revenue producer for Club Med. It does produce goodwill, and given the other projects Club Med has in mind, the investment is considered a good one. New Villas will be opened next year at Palenque, Oaxaca and San Cristobal.

When Robert McNamara, president of the World Bank, visited Mexico in January to observe projects financed in part by World Bank loans, one stop was the Hotelus Villas Arqueologicas at Uxmal. By that time I had found evidence to support my theory about the demise of the Mayan culture. The evidence comes from John L. Stephens, the American lawyer who in his classic "Incidents of Travel in Yucatan," reports that in the remote settlement of Schawill in 1811 he discovered that three treacherous nukes to the nearest water supply. When he asked why they did not move to the larger settlements where a water supply was available, they replied that their ancestors had left the large villages to get away from "certain municipal regulations and duties." But McNamara was whisked away to another project before I could urge him to consider that the World Bank not insist on too many rules for its loans to the Villas.

Column for Sunday, July 9, 1978

Last February I slipped on some ice and fell into a category the Federal Trade Commission staff recently called the uniquely vulnerable consumer. It's an apt phrase. Even though I had only \$35 in my pocket, within a few minutes of my fall I went on a buying spree that ended just last week. Among other things, I purchased drugs, x-rays, a plastic pitcher, three plaster casts, two 2-inch stainless steel screws, a wash basin shaped like a crescent, the attention of several nurses, lodging, food, and I bought a variety of technical services and advice on subjects I had not planned to learn much about, and in fact, knew nothing about.

Some consumers, such as industrial buyers, know as much about the products they buy as do the people who sell them. Where professional is dealing with professional, consumer advocates have never spent much time worrying about the need to protect purchasing agents from their suppliers.

In consumer markets, where most of us are amateurs and do not have the information available to the professionals who are doing the selling, regulation has tried to help the buyer beware. So, in a free market, we can smoke, use saccharin, and sign conditional sales contracts at our peril, but thanks to the work of consumer advocates, it is an informed peril.

Uniquely vulnerable consumers, however--such as people buying funeral services or children watching Saturday morning television--are not in a good position to make informed decisions. As a consumer of medicine and surgery, I was ignorant both of procedures and consequences, and additionally burdened by feeling sorry for myself for having fallen into that vulnerable category in the first place.

I discovered that four procedures designed to inform the consumer and protect hospitals were available to me--all the direct product of good hospital practice and, indirectly, of malpractice suits. If you have had the good luck or skill to stay out of touch with the uniquely vulnerable consumer category, the consumer protection practices of California hospitals will be new to you, for they have just been installed in the past few years.

First off, the patient is admonished about his consumer rights. Hospital admission, like arrest, is conditioned on administration of a form rather like the Miranda procedure by which the police tell citizens of their right to remain silent.

In the hospital, however, one is informed of his right to make others speak up: the patient has the right to be informed about the nature and purpose of proposed procedures,

risks, and the available alternatives. He is further informed that he has the right to refuse any proposed care until there has been an adequate explanation.

These consumer rights thus established, the hospital now asserts its own position. It wants you to know that it is essentially in the business of providing room and board, that the doctors are in control, and, most important, that they are independent contractors, not employees or agents of the hospital.

After an understanding of these rights and liabilities is attested to by signature, the patient is ready for the second procedure which seemed to me to follow closely the procedure used by auto mechanics. A brief statement designates the repairs to be made. Once agreed upon, this statement is signed and witnessed.

Neither party finds these two procedures troublesome, but the next form--called the "Informed Consent Form"--gives the hospital pause because it raises conflicts similar to those caused by the controversial "Buckley Amendment," which, on the premise that we should have the right to know what an official file says about us, gave us access to our (and our child's) school record.

In the hospital, no graceful way has been devised to give the patient access to information about the risks of treatment.

I was on my back in a room called "Pre-Surgery," vulnerable, but reconciled to being wheeled into surgery for the repairs as contracted in my second form, when a nurse abruptly presented me with a ballpoint pen and a clipboard holding a third form that minced no words: "Recent California Supreme Court rulings have made it necessary that the anesthesiologist inform the patient of the risks involved in receiving various anesthetics.. This necessity conflicts with our duty to reassure you before your operation. These risks are RARE, but may be significant or serious, and we are obliged to present them to you if you request them." I did.

The fourth and most crucial consumer protection procedure--disclosure--followed. Without hesitation, the SEC would approve it, for nothing is withheld. Nor is it a conversation that flows easily. It struck me rather like finding a limited guarantee on your parachute, after you have made the decision to jump. The anesthesiologist arrived to explain a new form entitled "Outline of Major Complications of Anesthesia." I'll skip the details of the 38 complications that can occur during or after anesthesia. They range in severity from skin rash to death, with spasms and paralysis in between.

The risk analysis completed, it was time for signifying in writing my informed consent, or, in the words of the form, that the risks were "explained to my satisfaction." Only then was I wheeled into the operating room for delivery of the service contracted for purchase in the earlier form.

COLUMN, Sunday, April 8, 1979

The rebellion against compulsory retirement happened so fast that it will take a long time fully to understand its consequences, intended and unintended. Only a few years ago, when our rapid transition to a post-industrial society was a favorite theme of conference planners, futurists frequently predicted with confidence that in the new era a growing number of people would elect early retirement to escape the demands of work for the pleasures of leisure.

But it hasn't happened. Relatively few people today are able to retire early, and many of those who could, choose not to leave the labor force, but make career changes instead. Faced with the requirement to retire, most people prefer to keep on working, or at least, to have the choice.

One measure of this change in attitudes is the way retirement is currently being honored, when it does occur. The sentimental retirement party is starting to give way to the retirement roast. In fact, if the popularity of the roast continues to grow, it may one day have the same effect on the retirement party as "the relationship" has had on dating.

Like celebrity roasts, the retirement roast honors its guest with a mixture of none-too-gentle insults leavened with humor, and concludes with a few serious words of response, but not so many as to burden the proceedings with sentimentality. When

John Madden retired from the Oakland Raiders and Jack Bunzel retired from San Jose State University, neither was given a retirement party. Both--one a highly-respected coach, the other a highly-respected university president--were roasted instead.

Nor is the form limited to the well-known. I recently attended a small retirement gathering where the program was made up of short needling speeches of the style known as "praising with faint damns." The honored guest was not required to, nor did he respond. Neither a roast nor a retirement party, this occasion was more of a fast fry.

One reason that the roast might be preferred these days over the traditional retirement party is that for many employees severe inflation and lack of adequate financial planning have made genuine retirement unattractive, even impossible. The idea of a party to celebrate a sentimental journey into a troubled financial future has little appeal.

Another is that increasingly, "retirements" are in fact mid-career changes. A psychologically attractive way to send a colleague on to more interesting prospects is to roast him. This form also fits the occasion of the retiree who rebels against insincere sentiment and consents to a party only on the strict condition no one be invited to speak. Because it offers both a civil and an irreverent way to mark the occasion, the roast is an improvement over a party with no tributes at all. The irreverence is, of course, in keeping with the times. It helps put in perspective the glories of winning games, whether in football, politics or the market.

Although the mood is growing against a sentimental ideal of retirement--as the popularity of the roast as the next-to-last rite of passage attests--there is one kind of utterly sentimental retirement party that the roast cannot replace. This is the occasion which honors a fellow worker, not for his worldly achievements, but for his personal qualities. There are many examples. The ones I know best from observation are the retirement parties given for respected labor relations managers and union leaders. In most particulars these big affairs are indistinguishable from one another. They begin with a noisy no-host bar in a corner of a hotel ballroom; the large crowd is called to order by a chairman whose estimate of his humor is not widely shared in the audience; the food will never win favorable mention in a restaurant guide; the schedule is trampled early in the proceedings. But all these matters are overlooked in an outpouring of good feeling.

What distinguishes this retirement party is the speech given by the person who for many years sat across the bargaining table from the honoree. It doesn't matter whether a union official is retiring and a management man is speaking, or the other way around. They make essentially the same point: "I know him better than any of you, because over the years I have spent more hours than I can count fighting with him over the bargaining table and in grievance proceedings. I know all his arguments. The smart ones and the dumb ones. Let me tell you he's a tough...(pause, that provokes laughter) well, let's just say that he's tough.

"But I'll tell you something else about him. When we made a deal, it was a deal.

"Never in these years did I have to ask for it in writing on the spot. It could be after 12 straight hours of bargaining. It could be 3:00 a.m. when we shook hands. When he said, 'It's a deal,' I always knew that when it was put in writing the next day, it would be exactly as we agreed.

"A handshake was all we needed. And in all these years he never went back on his word, never tried to nickel-and-dime me. You could always count on it, his word is his bond."

The rebellion against the sentimental ideal of retirement would have serious unintended consequences if it deprived the business world of this well-established ritual. None is more instructive, and no roast can ever replace it.

COLUMN for Sunday, January 27, 1980

Nominations for the 1980 Nobel Prize in Economics close on the 31st of January. This is one deadline you may not have known about, for the Royal Swedish Academy's Prize Committee does not advertise for nominations. It invites them. Each year since 1968, when "economic science" was added to the list of Alfred Nobel Memorial Prizes, the Royal Academy awards an economist one of the world's most coveted honors, and quickens the pulse of many other economists by inviting them (on Nobel Prize Committee stationary) to make nominations.

The quickened pulse is short-lived. One opens the letter with a few insincere, modest thoughts, and promptly discovers that the Prize Committee has been thinking along the same lines. The Committee "has the honour of inviting you to nominate candidates...no personal application for the prize will be considered," it says.

A nomination form is appended. Personnel managers, college admission directors and loan officers, please take note: the form barely fills one side of one page. It asks for the name, title and address of persons one wishes to nominate, "brief motivation" for the nominations, and finally, a couple of lines for the nominator's name and signature. Anything else deemed important may be appended.

It is a tough process, helping to decide whose work will be given an honor of such importance that it is likely to have a significant influence on economic thought.

Not only have past winners set a high standard for the only criterion mentioned in the form--"work of outstanding importance in economic science"--but the Nobel Prize Committee for the best known award, the Peace Prize, has by its latest choice revealed that this may be the time to broaden the concept of the kind of leadership deserving of the honor. The Peace Prize this time did not go to a world figure who influenced major events. Rather it was awarded to Mother Teresa, the Calcutta nun whose daily dedication to the poor has been an inspiration to all those who know of her work. She is a leader by example, not through high position or power.

Why not a Nobel Prize in Economics for someone of ordinary circumstances whose life affirms values worthy of honor and reinforcement? Admit this possibility to yourself, and the nomination form becomes too short.

Under the rules, I cannot reveal my nominations, but I can give you a few clues about one of the choices I am putting before the Prize Committee to test its dedication to this new spirit.

As befits a possible economic prize winner today, my nominee is in the middle-income bracket, and lives well within his means. I can only give you the range of his income: it is less than that of a mechanic, but above that earned by a professor.

He lives within his means as a matter of principle. A strong believer in saving, he has been cutting down on consumption in order to increase the share of income he saves. Six years ago he was saving about 8% of his income--just above the national average. Today he saves almost 15%, three times the national average.

The effects of inflation are no mystery to him, but he refuses to make an accommodation to them, lest he contribute to the problem. He has made it a rule to ignore sophisticated advice about investing in hard assets. He puts his money in financial assets.

He splits his 15% three ways. (Again, I cannot reveal the exact share).

(1) He buys U.S. Savings Bonds Series EE which pay a full 7%. He smiled when a friend showed him the recent New York Times editorial calling savings bond buyers "suckers" for not putting their money in higher yield investments, and replied, "I'm a sucker for Uncle Sam."

(2) He regularly invests in the equity market, but not with favorable price-earnings ratios foremost in mind. He seeks out companies that are taking a long view--firms that are trying to build capital and increase productivity--because he is mindful of the nation's serious productivity problem.

(3) Finally, he keeps a good sum in an account at a savings and loan association and adds to it regularly, because, as he

puts it, "The money is likely to go into housing for young people trying to get started and not to finance business deals for some foreign outfits."

For recreation he follows the gold market with the same bemused interest as the betting line on professional football. Neither attracts his money.

In a few years the oldest of his three children will be starting college. She has been instructed that her own savings and part-time work should cover a substantial share of her college costs. He is prepared to help with the remainder that she cannot cover with a scholarship. Rarely does he write to Congressmen, but he did send a strong protest against the middle-income assistance program for student aid, on the ground that financial aid should reward merit.

Proposition 13 posed a hard dilemma for him. He voted for it and has no regrets, but he is embarrassed by how little he now pays in property taxes relative to the services his community is receiving. He has decided actively to oppose further tax-cutting measures at the State level.

Of course, it seems unlikely that my nominee will win. If he should, his acceptance speech stressing the virtues of hard work, thrift and individualism as a basis for confidence in the future of humanity would probably not attract much attention. Alfred Nobel, however, might have appreciated it.

COLUMN for Sunday, November 29, 1981

If fiscal reporting today followed the example set by Edward Winslow, a Mayflower Pilgrim, the annual reports of corporations would surely be published at Thanksgiving. While this might be difficult because of overbooked printers, frantic closing times, harried auditors and audit committees, a Thanksgiving report would reaffirm an important historic precedent. Its prose could recapture some of the original American spirit and in the process, add to the list of things for which to be thankful.

The historic precedent is clear. Mr. Winslow, in a long letter that he dated December 11, 1621, Plymouth, New England, reported the achievements of the colony in its first year. The letter is especially valued today because it contains what historians now acknowledge to be the first description of the original Thanksgiving celebration, a festival called in the fall of 1621 by Governor William Bradford. Winslow says:

Our harvest being gotten in, our Governor sent four men on fowling; that so we might, after a more special manner, rejoice together, after we had gathered the fruit of our labours.

The entertainment and feasting lasted three days, the letter says, describing in barest outline a scene that

countless schoolchildren have since imaginatively filled out with paper turkeys, Pilgrim costumes and Indian headdress.

Like all good reports, Mr. Winslow's account of the first year's achievements at Plymouth lists the output:

We have built seven dwelling houses; and four for the use of the Plantation; and have made preparation for divers others.

We set, last spring, some twenty acres of Indian corn; and sowed some six acres of barley and pease.

And then, in a passage that holds special interest for business historians, Winslow adds what may be the first recorded report to shareholders in American history.

Edward Winslow and his fellow Pilgrims had contacts with corporations long before they had contact with Indians. Shareholders were important to them because in the case of the colony at Plymouth, English investors had created a joint stock company to finance the trip. Thomas C. Cochran's Basic History of American Business tells us that 70 English merchants put up 7,000 pounds in ten pound shares. Cochran reprints the agreement between the Pilgrims and the investors. The conditions were hardly generous--"...every person that goeth, being sixteen years old and upwards, be rated at ten pounds, and that ten pounds be accounted a single share." At the end of seven years, the proceeds were divided among the shareholders.

As for the early American spirit, Winslow's letter gives as much space to the conscientious efforts of the Pilgrims

to live up to the terms set with the shareholders as it does to the Thanksgiving festival.

"When it pleaseth God," he begins, "we are settled; and fitted for the fishing business and other trading." Although it had been a hard first year in America, Winslow's promises for the future, typically an introductory feature of reports to shareholders in bad times, came after his report on earnings:

I doubt not but, by the blessing of God, the gain will give content to all. In the meantime, that we have gotten, we have sent by this ship: and though it not be much; yet it will witness for us that we have not been idle; considering the smallness of our number all this summer.

We hope the Merchants will accept of it; and be encouraged to furnish us with things needful for further employment: which will also encourage us to put forth ourselves to the uttermost.

Our nation came into being with a population that had reason both to understand the merits of the corporation as a business form and to be suspicious of its use for Royal prerogative and exploitation by absentee owners. They created a decentralized political system in which the business corporation flourished as it has in no other nation. Moreover, their heirs facilitated this growth by adopting legislation that made incorporation more a right than a privilege.

The founders adopted the same goal for the corporation as they set for the rest of their new environment--to encourage

growth and to domesticate it so as to gather the greatest fruit of their labors. It is a process that is still going on, one that might be usefully considered in a report at Thanksgiving time.

Transition Period Is Touchy

Advice for Lame Ducks: Don't Make Waves

By EARL F. CHEIT

One might expect that the period between a decision to leave office and one's actual departure—the transition, as it is sometimes called, from lame duck to dead duck—would be one for savoring the pleasures of achievement and for accomplishing those things which promise to be most helpful to one's successor. While pleasures there certainly are to savor, choosing strategies that would be most helpful to one's successor is not so easy. Moreover, the advice one gets from friends and colleagues on how to meet this challenge is contradictory.

I have been a lame duck long enough to have received both kinds. The first is to make no new waves, to ride out the term quietly, to help the transition by keeping it uneventful. The second is to go out with a splash, to seize the moment, to set things right for the person who will take over.

With good reason the first advice is infrequently given, and most lame ducks are inclined to ignore it anyway. Because power slips away all too quickly, few lame ducks are motivated to hasten the process

themselves. The second prescription is more popular, both with those who give and those who receive it. It is offered in the hope that by seizing the moment, history might be made.

Thus, Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.) in all seriousness suggested that the lame-duck session of Congress this fall would be uniquely equipped to solve the problems of the Social Security system. Flattering though it may be to be counseled to try to shape history, to decline the opportunity might seem the better part of wisdom.

If friendly advice to lame ducks is contradictory, news accounts of their experiences are no better guide to a course of action. The best-known model for making no waves, of course, is Congress. Its gingerly approach to preparing the agenda for this year's lame-duck session is a case in point. Except for absolutely essential items, the agenda is being handled with the kind of delicacy usually associated with detonating explosives—not an appealing example for other lame ducks to follow.

Nor, apparently, is a clever appli-

cation of this kind of advice any better. Consider the recent story about J. Paul Sticht, chairman and chief executive officer of R. J. Reynolds. Sticht, scheduled to leave his post next spring, made front-page news in the Wall Street Journal when he deliberately created uncertainty about succession so as not to "cast himself in the role of a lame duck." According to the published report, this strategy is having an adverse effect on his company.

Consider the experience of other famous lame ducks who recently made news in seizing the moment. Jose Lopez Portillo, the lame-duck president of Mexico, decided to approach his nation's serious problems by making waves and imposing the most drastic economic measures in the recent history of Mexico—nationalization of all 59 of the nation's private banks and imposition of total exchange controls. He did so, he said, to preserve his economic achievements for his nation and for his successor, who takes over on Dec. 1. It is no secret, however, that President-elect Miguel de la Madrid and his staff wish that Portillo had chosen instead something more

akin to a "go-quietly" strategy.

Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, is a lame duck who tried to help his successor by delaying retirement to lead the auto workers through difficult negotiations with Chrysler Corp. He successfully negotiated a contract that, while providing some new benefits to his members, also took realistic account of the serious financial constraints on Chrysler. Fraser's members rejected his efforts and the contract was voted down.

I asked a colleague who is an expert on organizational behavior whether there are any scientific treatises on how to be a lame duck. "No," he replied, "not even a good self-help manual." The reason, he guessed, is that the wisdom on the subject can be condensed into three brief dicta: (1) Continue to do what you have been doing; (2) Leave on schedule; and (3) Go gracefully, if at all possible.

Earl F. Cheit is retiring Dec. 31 as dean of the UC Berkeley School of Business.

VIEWPOINTS

Perception of Economically 'Useless' Child a Factor in Teachers' Low Pay

By EARL F. CHEIT

Unfortunately, the dominant fact about public school teaching is not education, but economics. Simply put, the work is poorly paid, and most people are familiar with the reasons usually given in explanation: Teachers work only a nine-month year; their "psychic income" is high; teaching is predominantly "women's work," and since until recently women have not had other professional opportunities, schools did not have to offer competitive salaries.

Teachers' low pay is indeed a labor market fact, and the usual factors undoubtedly account for part of the pay disparity. Teachers do have a shorter work year. But the nine-month year is in reality more like 10 months. This means that the teacher's work year is perhaps 10% shorter than that of other professionals. As for psychic income, its value depreciates quickly

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when it is offered as a long-term substitute for money and when its special value is applied only to teaching. And, to compound the problem, the traditional labor market position of women has been exploited by the schools. But this fact cannot account for the entire salary gap.

In my view, the cause of the pay problem is not mainly attributable to the labor market phenomena; it is actually the product of larger forces.

Two Important Changes

Schools reflect the larger society and are profoundly shaped by changes in that outside world. So, I would like to add to the list some important long-term changes that have occurred in this century—changes that are fundamental to the pay problem.

Until late in the last century, children were importantly regarded in economic terms. Their work contributed to family economic security. In rural America, children were essential for agricultural work, household duties and the tending of animals.

But by the turn of the century and the Industrial Revolution, the economic importance of children to family welfare had begun to diminish. That process has continued.

This process has been analyzed by Viviana A. Zelizer in an important new book, "Pricing the Priceless Child." Zelizer, a sociology professor at



Barnard College, shows that as a result of their separation from work, children have come to occupy what she calls a special and separate world, one "regulated by affection and education, not work or profit." Zelizer is not advocating a return to the days before

Century "useful" child. Today, the household work of children, when it occurs at all, is justified as moral training, rather than an activity essential for family welfare. Money comes to the child not through earnings, but by an allowance, which is justified as having moral value, not economic significance.

In short, the economic world of children has been so completely redefined as non-productive, the children are seen primarily as consumers, not producers.

School has replaced work as the main activity of the young. Only 11% of high school age children attended school at the turn of the century. That proportion has grown steadily to its current level of about 85%.

Teachers Rated in Unique Position

Children who are isolated from the world of work and whose main role is that of consumer, are, above all, expensive. Therefore, those who bear the brunt of this change—those whose salaries are measured accordingly—are the teachers of these economically useless children.

A recent Gallup poll asked people to rate the workload and prestige of nine occupations—doctors, clergy, college professors, lawyers, business executives, public school teachers, public school principals, local politicians and realtors. Teachers were rated in a unique position. What they do is seen as very demanding—second only to the work of doctors—but they are also rated very low in prestige.

How long will this situation continue? If my view is correct—that the key to the salary issue is the way children are regarded—then there is good reason to expect salutary change.

The nation's economy faces a growing challenge of international competitiveness, and hopes that the problem would soon diminish under the balm of economic growth have proved unfounded. The competitiveness problem is growing, one that can be met with a more highly skilled labor force.

Partly in response to that need, an education reform movement is under way and gaining momentum. Its main messages stress the need for increased emphasis on basic skills and for public awareness that the costs of a low-wage policy are becoming uncomfortably high.

The reform movement represents a changing view of the demands that the larger society must place on the schools. It emphasizes the importance of young students to the nation's economic future.

Teachers' salaries should soon reflect this increasing interest in developing a modern version of the "useful" child.



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Regent Watching

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seeking injustices, to adorn broken windows. Since there is no shortage of failures and injustices, or of broken windows, they have been among the busiest student watchers....

Perhaps a more serious problem than the creation of explanations that serve one's own purposes is that student watching has tended to absorb all of our attention. The sport has even gone professional. There are White House appointments, commissions, and professional staffs. In fact, of course, the successful operation of a university depends upon many groups working in intricate relationships. And no one is more important in establishing and maintaining those relationships than the Board of Regents.

I have for some time thought it strange that although government and order in colleges are the object of almost constant public discussion, there is little public discussion of the governing boards themselves. If the subject of trustees comes up at all, it usually involves announcing that the board system is no longer viable, or revealing that many board members are rich.

I am encouraging Regent watching today not to create new markets or to emulate the hair styles of the rich. I do so because I think the Regental, or trustee, model of university government is better than its

The Trusteeship of Colleges and Universities, Morton A. Rauh, McGraw Hill Book Co., New York, 1969. (A summary of Mr. Rauh's survey was published in *AGB Reports*, January 1969, Vol. II, No. 5.)

Regent Watching

Earl F. Cheit

Although government and order in colleges are the object of almost constant public discussion, there is little public discussion of the governing boards themselves. If the subject of trustees comes up at all, it usually involves announcing that the board system is no longer viable, or revealing that many board members are rich.

Actions of students have in the last several years become a main source of news and public concern. That concern has stimulated a new

form of social analysis: student watching, an activity devoted to producing profound reasons for aberrant behavior. Student watching has produced some creative journalism, some bad movies, and some big new markets — in clothing, entertainment, and hair styling. But most of all, it has served a serious public psychological need. When there is a major new phenomenon afoot which people cannot understand — as in student protest and disruption — they demand a ra-

tional explanation that will make sense of it....

Unfortunately, because the purpose of student watching is to expose plain group behavior that is not clear, watching students can be dangerous. It is too easy to provide explanations that suit one's own purposes. Thus, for those who believe that "society" rather than the individual is responsible for behavior, a siege of window smashing yields a predictable plaint: "Where have we failed?" "What are they trying to tell us about injustice?" These student watchers have been busy collecting our failures and

Earl F. Cheit is Professor of Business Administration, University of California at Berkeley, and was Executive Vice Chancellor of the University for several years. His paper is from a speech made at Town Hall in Los Angeles, September 24, 1970.

alternatives and it should be studied, criticized, and improved. A recent study of the trusteeship of colleges and universities¹ concludes, "It has come into vogue these days to find that conventional modes of college governance are no longer viable." (p. 146) On campus there are those who believe that power to govern the University should be vested in faculty and students. So we get witty articles from J. K. Galbraith saying "The governing board is not yet a harmless anachronism. In many respects, it remains a barrier to rational progress." Off campus there are those who want the people to govern the University through the political process. So, at every legislative session we get bills to reduce the terms and erode the autonomy of the Regents.

As a faculty man I should say that if I had to choose between university government by the faculty or by the political process, I would choose the faculty. But I would prefer trustees to either. Winston Churchill's description of democracy states my views about Regents and trusteeship: it is the poorest form of government, except for all the others. The study of trustees, which I quoted earlier, says, "much of the misunderstanding about trustees derives from the fact that few people — including, I must say, no small number of trustees — know what they do." (p. 149)

As a supporter of the trusteeship concept, I am not worried that it is about to be abolished, but I am worried that it is not being strengthened. Not only is there lack of public understanding of what the board is supposed to do, there is reason to be concerned about the ability of boards to lead their universities, and to be concerned about the actions of individual trustees. Therefore, I should like to examine these three things: what is the Board and its trust? Why does a university get in trouble with its board and how can they get out of it? And, finally, what should those of us who support the trusteeship concept, expect from our trustees?

II

What is the Board of Regents? This sounds a bit like the question asked the host who invited his guest to listen to some Brahms: "What are Brahms?" It is easier to tell what are Regents.

Under the California constitution, Article 9, Section 9, the University is "a public trust to be administered by . . . the Regents . . . with full powers of organization and government, subject only to such legislative control as may be necessary to insure compliance with the terms of the endowments of the University and the security of its funds. . . . The University shall be entirely independent of all political or sectarian influence and kept free therefrom in the appointment of its regents and in the administration of its affairs. . . ."

The constitution gives the Board of Regents governing power and makes it autonomous. The importance of this constitutional autonomy cannot be overemphasized. It represents an ideal — a genuinely independent public university. It embodies one of the most advanced concepts a free people can adopt — that of the self-denying ordinance. Under the constitution, the people have created a university, but have denied themselves direct control over its affairs. Instead they rely on the concept of the public trust, whose trustees, the Regents, are expected to protect and develop it wisely, free of personal motives of gain, exploitation, or bias.

The theory of the Board can be likened to that of a supreme court. Both are designed to achieve the ideals of constitutional independence, and policy making protected from the passions of the majority of the moment.

People can't always live up to their ideals, but they, and especially their leaders, must never stop trying. President Roosevelt, like President Nixon after him, discovered that when a president doesn't try to strengthen the ideal of the Court, people of all views and from all over the nation will defend the ideal.

This is the approach that must be taken with the Regents. They must feel our support when others try to undermine their constitutional autonomy; and they must be subjected to searching criticism lest through

mediocre performance they stop striving for the ideal entrusted to them. In the case of the Court, there are established sources of responsible criticism in the bar and in the law schools. In the case of the Regents, although the press covers their meetings, it does not generally promote criticism in this sense. In the administration of its trust, the Board is not well served by the lack of a corps of responsible Regent watchers.

III

Much of the history of the American college and university is told by the relationships which boards of trustees create to administer their trust. In the early colleges, the locus of authority was not the trustees at all, but the faculty. That authority was shifted to trustees, and must have been solidly in their grasp by 1888, when President Francis L. Patton, in his inaugural address at Princeton, announced that "College

administration is a business in which the trustees are partners, professors the salesmen and students the customers." In the years since, trustees have followed more modern concepts of organization. They have delegated operating authority to administrators, have delegated curriculum and credit authority to faculties, and have created joint administration-faculty roles in personnel matters. Boards retain final power, and are concerned with questions of leadership, direction, and finance — the basic obligations of their trust.

When a university is operating happily, these board-university relationships are taken for granted and do not get much attention. When there is serious conflict, anywhere in the university, it soon involves the question "who has the power to decide?" If such conflicts reach the governing board and remain unresolved, they can set in motion events that will eventually impair the board's leadership role. From my observations of academic institutions in these recent difficult years, I think it fair to say that when a board-university relationship becomes troubled, it is likely to follow a downward pattern, with four rather distinct stages. Boards and universities move from one stage to the next, not necessarily because they consciously want to, certainly not because they want things to get worse, but often because once the cycle gets started, it becomes self-energizing.

Stage One. One of the first outward signs that trouble has already started is that the board frequently says "no" to administration, to faculty, to students. If a board is saying no, it is the signal that the relationship is in trouble — stage one.

During the past few years, some of the most publicized decisions have essentially been those saying no. Students are in the street saying no. The Chancellor says no, they can't say no that way. The academic senate passes a resolution saying no to the way the Chancellor said no to the students, and also saying no to

the tactics of the students (but commending their goals to the Regents). The Regents then pass a resolution. It says no to the Senate and no to a few other things as well. The irony is that while all of this is going on, everyone is saying that the main need before us is for change.

Why does a board say no? Because it sees problems it wants solved, but it has delegated the authority to solve them to others. Delegation is necessary for a large modern organization, but it relies on shared values and on an understanding that different levels of authority are subject to different pressures. The trouble actually starts when the values are no longer generally shared, or when one loses sight of the other fellow's situation. The difference may be obscured from public view for some time, but if it is not resolved, one day the decisions of the administration or the faculty will seem obviously wrong to the board — and the board will feel it must effectuate its will. Being the final authority and still having the power to say no, it says no. Many colleges and universities are governed by what could be called the no-power structure.

At this first stage of trouble the situation can be repaired if there is a prompt reconciliation of values, or if the different levels of authority can make a candid and reasonable compromise of their values. Otherwise in order to effectuate its will, the board will have to withdraw del-

egations and get into administration. When this happens, board-university relationships have moved into the second stage of trouble — the move into administration.

Stage Two. The move into administration is accelerated by attacks on the university. Campuses have been the subject of attack from within and from without. These attacks concern many of the nation's problems and may involve the very conflicts of values that started stage one. When organizations come under attack, they centralize, both to strengthen themselves and because more and more decisions are bucked to higher levels. Thus the board's move from policy into administration is accelerated, and it becomes concerned about details.

The move into administration is further accelerated by a fear boards have, that the decisions they make are predetermined by others and therefore involve a sense of unreality. Robert Townsend, the retired Avis whiz kid, tells us there is good reason why board members have this fear. He says, in his recent book (*Up the Organization*), that all the large, successful companies he knew did what they could to "turn their boards of directors into non-boards."

The move into administration is further aggravated by the operation of Cheit's third law, which holds that when a board is frustrated in effectuating its will on a given

policy, it will find another policy where it can effectuate its will. Boards reach out for new things to decide and begin (even) to feel responsible for things they are not deciding.

I am quite sure that most boards realize how undesirable it is for them to move into administration, and how much this demoralizes the academic administration; and they feel trapped by their inability to get out again. But the fact is that if a board does not get out promptly, it will move into the third stage in a troubled relationship with its university — the stage in which it stops leading.

Stage Three. It is always difficult to lead large organizations. Events often overtake procedures and in the case of universities there are no fixed criteria — such as a profit and loss statement — of successful performance. This difficulty is increased when the board of directors is centralizing the organization and getting into administration, because then the major board problems get buried by the administrative problems, which come in a rapid flow of questions for decision. These questions consume much of the regular agenda, and the board finds it impossible to devote enough time to thoughtful discussions about growth, direction, finance, and priorities.

By failing to devote continuing attention to these broad questions a board conceals divisions of view

about direction and priorities. But these divisions are there, and they concern what kind of university the trustees really want to have. The differences are not revealed by discussion, which is about administrative questions, but are expressed by symbolic means. They constitute the board's hidden agenda. Newer board members, lacking the benefit of detailed and thoughtful discussion by their senior colleagues, become aligned with views about the university through votes on other matters, usually things symbolic of a division of views on the fundamental issue of what kind of institution the university should be. This is a crucial moment in stage three. Unless by force of personality a board member — perhaps the president or the chairman, one whom history will remember — can bring the board back to its overall leadership role, it will soon find that it is so divided about the university it wants to lead, that for this reason, too, it is unable to lead.

When this happens, the board will avoid issues of planning and educational quality, and will eventually deal with them only when forced to under pressure, such as a budget deadline, which further deepens the division.

Thus unable to formulate a leadership position inside the board room, outside the board room the board becomes less and less able to perform one of its most important trust functions — that of being a protective buffer between the institution and those public passions of

the moment. A successful board buffers by insuring that university policies are informed by the needs of the supporting community, and by interpreting the university and its needs to the supporting community. When a board ceases to be a buffer, it becomes increasingly estranged from the campus and is moving into the final, fourth stage of a troubled board-university relationship.

Fourth Stage. In the fourth stage the board views the university entrusted to it with increasing suspicion, even hostility. Obviously, boards of trustees are not alone to blame for their estrangement from campuses, but the situation is unhealthy. Because trustees are isolated from campuses, students consider them irrelevant and their actions provocative; faculty and staff see them as remote. Trustees see themselves governing hostile territory, and react accordingly. In private they stop defending the ideals of the university and start agreeing with their critics. Administrators must not only bridge this gap, but must appear credible to both sides, trustees and campus. Contrary to popular belief, it is not facing down a confrontation, or calling the police, or getting threatening phone calls in the night that undermines administrative capacity and initiative. It is caused by having to worry about two kinds of confrontations, one in the street, another in the board room.

The final phase of this fourth stage occurs when the board no

longer functions in its constitutional role as independent trustees. It concludes that its role will be best served by doing what the street radicals keep calling for: give all power to the people. Let the public punish this strange, arrogant, and ungrateful place.

In fairness I must state that I know of no university whose problems fit this scenario precisely — but I must add that I know many for which it is in some degree relevant. I must also add that I have been describing a process in the life of any organization; I have not been trying to analyze who is to blame for it. The fact is, that if a board's relationship to its university is troubled and the ability to lead is impaired then the blame must be widely shared, by faculty who have been provocative or indifferent, by students who have been reckless or indifferent — and by administrators, alumni, and many others too. Nevertheless, there is something that boards themselves can do to reverse this downward progression. They can do some things regardless of their convictions about particular issues. It is about the Board's opportunity for constructive action that I am talking today. A full restoration of good board-university relationships will not be accomplished by changes in attitudes of students, faculty, and administrators alone.

IV

What should a Regent watcher ask the Regents to do? He should

ask them to do those things their predecessors did that makes us admire them. In over 100 years of University history, there are plenty of lessons. I have chosen four and added one of my own.

The first thing every Regent must do is do his overall job. He must give proper weight to needs of the university, and not see his role simply as representing the anxieties of the public to the university. This does not mean being insensitive to the burden on taxpayers. But the role of representing taxpayers is played by every elected official in the state, and it is not the Regents' primary responsibility. The Regents' main role is representing the aspirations of the university to the people. Fortunately, from among their predecessors there are many models for them to follow. For starters, I recommend looking at the Board in power in 1935.

Historically, the Regents of the University of California undertook an audacious experiment — to create a mass system of higher education at low cost to the student, which would compete on quality terms with the best, elite private institutions. And they succeeded. President Sproul's biographer tells us that a key turning point came in the depression year of 1935, when the university's budget was cut. President Sproul pleaded for more money. Why? To raise the University to levels competitive with the best universities in the country, to recruit the best faculty. But, he was

told, "There are unemployed teachers in California. Hire them." With the courageous, solid backing of the Board of Regents, he took his plea back to the legislature and the governor, and argued that the University must set its sights nationally and compete with the best institutions. The University got a supplementary appropriation. The courage of that Board helped create a university which ranks as the best system of its kind, and the taxpayers of California, too, have been among its principal beneficiaries. The Board of 1935 was doing its overall job.

There is a quick shorthand way to tell if a Regent is doing this overall job. It is, "What does he put before the 'but'?" If he says, "California needs high quality education, but taxes are too high," he is representing taxpayers. If he says, "Taxes are very high, but we need a high quality system of education," then he is representing education. That is the role people of the State have entrusted each Regent to play, and it is the ideal his predecessors fought for.

The second thing history tells us to expect from our Regents is a personal commitment to higher education and the goals of the University. As a land-grant institution, it owes its origins to two great goals: extending the opportunities for access to higher education, and providing meaningful service to the people. Today the distinguishing characteristics of California's University are its excellence, and its diversity.

Trusteeship of an institution with these characteristics and goals requires a commitment to them. There will be differences of view on how to attain them, and on specific priorities, but there must be the provision of excellence, diversity, opportunity for access, and service. Again, there is no shortage of models. Let me cite one example. Even after Theodore Meyer retired from the Board of Regents, he continued to work for these goals. I can testify to the long day we spent together, hats in hand, seeking foundation money for an important service project. All he got was a careful hearing, but the rest of us got an example of a Regent's personal commitment.

Fourth, history teaches us that a Regent must have a theory about governing a university with which the institution can live and develop. For some years Sewell Avery ran a mail order house by applying the policies for running an investment bank. He proved the institution can still survive, but he also proved that the costs are very high.

The same is true of a university. The Regents have final authority, and that is as it should be. But successful board-university relationships require not just the simple assertion of authority, although that is sometimes necessary. In a university, influence decides more things than power. The Board must give thoughtful attention to the questions: who by virtue of expertise or experience should have influence? How can this influence be responsibly incorporated into the constitutional power relations? No one understood this better than Regent Donald McLaughlin. When he retired from the Board, he returned to faculty emeritus status, and he told his Board colleagues, only partly in jest, that it would be good to be getting back to the university's governing body.

Finally, out of my own experience as Executive Vice Chancellor at Berkeley, I would add that a Regent watcher should ask of his Regents, have they learned the two major tactical lessons of the past six years? First, that a totalitarian appetite grows when it is fed; and second, that evil can be enlarged by

the way it is fought. By and large, across the country administrators seem to have learned the first lesson more slowly than their boards. But regardless of when they learned it, they found it harder to apply, because of trustees' poor understanding of the second.

I believe that a good board-university relationship cannot be restored until there is extensive board-administration exploration of these two points, and agreement in outline as to what they mean in operation. If I understand the current mood among faculty and students, there is growing determination to insist on responsible conduct and not blandly to accept the war and race as excuses for misconduct in the University. This is an opportune moment for that view to begin to prevail, but everyone connected with the University is going to have to do his part.

V

I have been talking about what to ask of Regents. I should conclude by talking about what to ask of ourselves as Regent watchers.

First, be a generous Regent watcher. A generous student watcher assumes that most students are in school to study and make something of themselves besides a professional nuisance. Make an analogous assumption about the Regents, and you will be correct. If you assume that most Regents work hard, devote much time to their

duties, and mean well (in terms of their vision of the University), you will be correct.

Second, be an interested, but not humorless Regent watcher. Student watchers are, above all, humorless. Every student act, no matter how ridiculous, must be treated with total seriousness. I have never found it possible to follow that rule in watching students, and believe it would clearly be impossible in the case of Regents. So when the absurdity of the situation you are watching hits you, don't fight it.

Third, be willing to suspend judgment for a while. Regents aren't nearly as visible as students, or faculty, or even presidents. Their actions, and the consequences of their policies and decisions, come out in leaks to press, denied and set straight, clarified in press conferences, explained by spokesmen for the University. It takes a while to find out what really happened. Don't assume the worst; you may be surprised.

Finally, be a nonpolitical Regent watcher. Unlike student watching, in Regent watching all matters of political conviction must be set aside. Political preferences are irrelevant to Regent watching, and can mislead you. When a local Republican Chairman was asked how he liked the stage performance of FDR's life, "Sunrise at Campobello," he replied, "I never have liked Ralph Bellamy's acting." Watch the performance, not the politics.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1970

Carnegie Study Author

Earl Frank Cheit

By FRANK J. PRIAL

When Earl Cheit resigned as executive vice chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley last year to take his sabbatical leave, he had three goals in mind: more reading and writing, getting reacquainted with his family, and picking up his handball game. He never did

get back to handball. But he did see something of his family and he did some reading and writing, too.

In fact, he produced the major study of the financial condition of United States colleges and universities that was released here yesterday by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education.

The report, called "The New Depression in Higher Education," is a rather pessimistic interpretation of the financial crisis facing colleges and universities. The author, however, is anything but gloomy by nature.

"The handball had to go," he said in an interview, "but I've joined a faculty group that runs three miles every day at noon on the Berkeley campus track." Dr. Cheit, who is 44, says a man over 40 should be able to do a mile in between seven and eight minutes. His best time for the three-mile run: 21:03.

Offer From Kerr

Earl Frank Cheit was well prepared professionally when his old friend Clark Kerr, head of the Carnegie Commission and a former Chancellor of the University of California, asked him to do the university finances study. Dr. Cheit holds two degrees in law and a doctorate in economics and has spent most of his professional life in the academic world.

He was also a member of the faculty group that was organized at Berkeley to deal with student demands stemming from the Free Speech Movement of 1964, the first of the modern student uprisings. Today, however, he believes that financial crises far outweigh student unrest as the most critical problem in academia.

"Colleges and universities are going to change a great deal," he said, "but more because of money than anything else."



The New York Times Studio

Reading, writing and family life left him no time for handball.

Money was something of a problem in Dr. Cheit's early academic career. "I guess I had 15 jobs while I was going through the University of Minnesota," he said. "I did everything from running copy at the old Minneapolis Star, to slinging hash, to working as a busboy at the University Hospital."

Friend of 2 Internes

In that last post he got to know a couple of surgical internes who went on to considerable fame: Dr. Norman E. Shumway, now at Stanford University, and Dr. Christiaan N. Barnard, who performed the first heart transplants on humans.

"I once went to a costume party in Norm Shumway's interne outfit," Dr. Cheit said, "because I couldn't afford a costume of my own."

Dr. Cheit's birth certificate says Minneapolis, but he considers Hague, N. D., his birthplace. "My mother went to Minneapolis because there was no doctor in Hague," he said.

The future lawyer-economist-educator grew up in the tiny (400 population) wheat and cattle town where his father, a Russian immigrant, ran the general store. He was graduated from Hague High School in a class of

University of Minnesota where he took a B.S. in law eight, then moved on to the in 1947, an LL.B. in 1949, and a Ph.D. in economics in 1954.

Dr. Cheit taught at the University of St. Louis from 1955 to 1957 when he was invited to Berkeley as a visiting associate professor of economics and a research economist at the University's Institute of Industrial Relations. He became a permanent faculty member three years later.

Took Post Friday the 13th

In 1965, when Roger Heyns was named chancellor of the University of California, he asked Dr. Cheit to become executive vice chancellor. "We both took office in August," he says, "on Friday, the 13th."

Dr. Cheit is back teaching now—as a professor of business administration at the School of Business at Berkeley. He is also back working on a report that he set aside when the Carnegie job came up. "It's a sort of memoir on my four years as executive vice chancellor," he said. "It's a bureaucratic report, though. I'm not going to kiss and tell."

Dr. Cheit is married to the former June Doris Andrews, whom he met when they were both students at the University of Minnesota. Their first date was the night he wore Dr. Shumway's interne uniform.

They have four children, Wendy, 18, a student at the University of California at Irvine; David, 17, a student at the Berkeley campus of the university; Ross, 15, in high school, and Julie, 12, a seventh grader.

Earl F. Cheit

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Children: Wendy (1951), David (1953), Ross (1955), Julie (1958)

Biographical Listing: Who's Who in America; Who's Who in Finance and Industry;
Who's Who in the West.

University Record: Ph.D., University of Minnesota, 1955 (Economics/Law)
LL.B. (J.D.), University of Minnesota, 1949
(Admitted to Minnesota Bar, 1949)
B.S.L. University of Minnesota, 1947

Academic/Administrative Positions

Academic Advisor to the Provost and Senior Vice-President
University of California
1998-2001

Senior Advisor
Asia-Pacific Economic Affairs
The Asia Foundation
1982-2001

Interim Athletics Director, Intercollegiate Athletic & Recreational Sports, University of California, Berkeley
1993-1994

Faculty Advisor to the Provost, Berkeley Campus, University of California
1991-1994

Acting Dean, Walter A. Haas School of Business, University of California, Berkeley
1990-1991

Dean, Schools of Business Administration, University of California, Berkeley
1976-1982

Acting Vice President, Financial and Business Management, University of California 1981-1982

Associate Director and Senior Research Fellow, Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, Berkeley (on one-half time leave from University of California)
1973-1975

Program Officer in Charge, Higher Education and Research, The Ford Foundation, New York (on leave from University of California)
1972-1973

Executive Vice Chancellor, University of California, Berkeley
1965-1969

Associate Director, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley
1962-1964

Assistant/ Associate Professor of Economics, St. Louis University
1955-1957

Visiting/Associate/Full Professor, University of California, Berkeley
1957-1995

Books and Monographs

Economic and Social Security (co-author). New York: Ronald Press, Fifth Edition, 1982, 608 pp. First Edition, 1957.

A Glimpse at Some Flowers from the Bus: 17 Days in China Following Normalization (co-author). Menlo Park, CA: Lane Publishing Co., 1980, 64 pp.

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Selected Articles

"A Declaration on Open Regionalism," California Management Review (Fall, 1992), Volume 35, Number 1, pp. 116-130.

"The Shaping of Business Management Thought," in Divided Knowledge: Across Discipline, Across Culture. Newbury Park: Sage Publication and The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1991, pp. 195-218.

"Coming of Middle Age in Business and Society," California Management Review (Winter, 1991), Volume 33, Number 2, pp. 71-79.

Monthly column on Economic and Business Affairs, Sunday edition of the Los Angeles Times and the San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle, 1977-1987.

"Economic Factors in Policy Making for the Prevention and Treatment of Disability." Paper presented in Caracas at International Conference on Disability. Jornadas Interacciones a Nivel Latino Americano, Caracas: Jornadas de AVAPANE, 1986, pp. 103-110.

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"Policy Responses to Employment Shifts Caused by Economic Growth," in Has the Industrialized Epoch in the Western World Culminated, Stockholm: Swedish Ministry of Industry, 1982, pp. 45-58.

"Foundations and University Research," International Encyclopedia for Higher Education, Jossey Bass Publishers, San Francisco, 1977.

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“The Disability Benefit Complex: Workmen’s Compensation and Social Security,” Rutgers Law Review, Vol. 18, No. 2, Winter 1964.

“Why Managers Cultivate Social Responsibility,” California Management Review, Vol. VII, No. 1, Fall 1964, pp. 3-23.

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“Unemployment Disability Insurance in California,” Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 82, No. 5, May 1959, pp. 564-571.

“Public Policy Toward Trade Unions: Anti-Monopoly Laws,” Proceedings, Industrial Relations Research Association, May 1958, pp. 705-712.

“Union Security and the Right to Work,” Labor Law Journal, Vol. 6, No. 6, June 1955, pp. 357-360, 400-402.

Honors and Awards

Earl F. Cheit Hall, classroom wing of Haas School, named by the Regents of the University. (Dedicated, May 1995)

Helmet Award, presented by the Department of Intercollegiate Athletics, Berkeley. (1993)

Chancellor’s Award, presented by the Trustees of the U.C. Berkeley Foundation. (1992)

Berkeley Medal, presented by the Chancellor, U.C. Berkeley. (1991)

Distinguished Teaching Award, presented by U.C. Berkeley Academic Senate. (1989)

Lecturer selected by American Academy of Arts and Sciences for presentation to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences on State-of-the-Field in Selected Disciplines, Beijing, May 1988

Award for outstanding teaching, voted by undergraduate students, School of Business. (1986)

Honorary Member, Phi Beta Kappa, Berkeley. (1986)

Article “What Price Accountability?” (First published in November, 1975) honored on list of the Best on Higher Education in the 25-year history of Change Magazine; reprinted in special edition, May/June, 1994.

Commander, Order of Leopold, honorary title conferred by the Government of Belgium. (1985)

Wheeler Oak Meritorious Award, presented by the U.C. Berkeley Foundation. (1984)

Edgar F. Kaiser Professor of Business and Public Policy, endowed chair, awarded by the Haas School, University of California, Berkeley. (1984)

Commendation for service to the schools, from Richmond (California) Unified School District (1983)

“Cheit Endowment for Excellence in Teaching,” established and funded by alumni to honor retiring Dean (1982) and provide income for annual awards named by student initiative (1981)
“Earl F. Cheit award for outstanding teaching.”

Alumni Lectureship in Asia, awarded by the California Alumni Association, University of California, Berkeley. (1977)

Honorary Degree, Doctor of Humane Letters, awarded by St. Mary’s College. (1975)

Centennial Citation, presented by the campus committee on honors on the occasion of the celebration of the university’s 100th anniversary. (1968)

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August 2002

INTERVIEWS ON THE HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Documenting the history of the University of California has been a responsibility of the Regional Oral History Office since the Office was established in 1954. Oral history memoirs with University-related persons are listed below. They have been underwritten by the UC Berkeley Foundation, the University of California Office of the President, the Chancellor's Office, University departments, or by extramural funding for special projects. The oral histories, both tapes and transcripts, are open to scholarly use in The Bancroft Library. Bound, indexed copies of the transcripts are available at cost.

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Bierman, Jessie. *Maternal and Child Health in Montana, California, the U.S. Children's Bureau and WHO, 1926-1967*. 1987, 246 pp.

Bird, Grace. *Leader in Junior College Education at Bakersfield and the University of California*. Two volumes, 1978, 342 pp.

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Blaisdell, Allen C. *Foreign Students and the Berkeley International House, 1928-1961*. 1968, 419 pp.

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- Pigford, Thomas H., *Building the Fields of Nuclear Engineering and Nuclear Waste Management, 1950-1999*. 2001, 340 pp.
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- Schorske, Carl E. *Intellectual Life, Civil Libertarian Issues, and the Student Movement at the University of California, Berkeley, 1960-1969*. 2000, 203 pp.
- Scott, Geraldine Knight. *A Woman in Landscape Architecture in California, 1926-1989*. 1990, 235 pp.
- Shields, Peter J. *Reminiscences of the Father of the Davis Campus*. 1954, 107 pp.
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- Stripp, Fred S. Jr. *University Debate Coach, Berkeley Civic Leader, and Pastor*. 1990, 75 pp.
- Strong, Edward W. *Philosopher, Professor, and Berkeley Chancellor, 1961-1965*. 1992, 530 pp.
- Struve, Gleb. (In process.) Professor of Slavic Languages and Literature.
- Taylor, Paul Schuster.
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 Volume II and Volume III: *California Water and Agricultural Labor*. 1975, 519 pp.
- Thygeson, Phillips. *External Eye Disease and the Proctor Foundation*. 1988, 321 pp.
 (UC San Francisco professor.) (Available through the Foundation of the American Academy of Ophthalmology.)
- Tien, Chang-Lin. (In process.) Berkeley Chancellor, 1990-1997.
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Wiegel, Robert L. *Coastal Engineering: Research, Consulting, and Teaching, 1946-1997*. 1997, 327 pp.

Williams, Arleigh. *Dean of Students Arleigh Williams: The Free Speech Movement and the Six Years' War, 1964-1970*. 1990, 329 pp.

Williams, Arleigh and Betty H. Neely. *Disabled Students' Residence Program*. 1987, 41 pp.

Wilson, Garff B. *The Invisible Man, or, Public Ceremonies Chairman at Berkeley for Thirty-Five Years*. 1981, 442 pp.

Winkler, Albert J. *Viticultural Research at UC Davis, 1921-1971*. 1973, 144 pp.

Woods, Baldwin M. *University of California Extension*. 1957, 102 pp.

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Architects landscape architects, gardeners, presidents of UC document the history of the UC presidential residence. Includes interviews with Mai Arbegast, Igor Blake, Ron and Myra Brocchini, Toichi Domoto, Eliot Evans, Tony Hail, Linda Haymaker, Charles Hitch, Flo Holmes, Clark and Kay Kerr, Gerry Scott, George and Helena Thacher, Walter Vodden, and Norma Willer.

Centennial History Project, 1954-1960. 329 pp.

Includes interviews with George P. Adams, Anson Stiles Blake, Walter C. Blasdale, Joel H. Hildebrand, Samuel J. Holmes, Alfred L. Kroeber, Ivan M. Linforth, George D. Louderback, Agnes Fay Morgan, and William Popper. (Bancroft Library use only.)

Thomas D. Church, Landscape Architect. Two volumes, 1978, 803 pp.

Volume I: Includes interviews with Theodore Bernardi, Lucy Butler, June Meehan Campbell, Louis De Monte, Walter Doty, Donn Emmons, Floyd Gerow, Harriet Henderson, Joseph Howland, Ruth Jaffe, Burton Litton, Germano Milano, Miriam Pierce, George Rockrise, Robert Royston, Geraldine Knight Scott, Roger Sturtevant, Francis Violich, and Harold Watkin.

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Volume II: *Julia Morgan, Her Office, and a House.* Includes interviews with Mary Grace Barron, Kirk O. Rowlands, Norma Willer, Quintilla Williams, Catherine Freeman Nimitz, Polly Lawrence McNaught, Hettie Belle Marcus, Bjarne Dahl, Bjarne Dahl, Jr., Morgan North, Dorothy Wormser Coblentz, and Flora d'Ille North.

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Transcripts of sixteen interviews conducted during July-August 1985 documenting events on the UC Berkeley campus in April-May 1985 and administration response to student activities protesting university policy on investments in South Africa. Interviews with: Ira Michael Heyman, chancellor; Watson Laetsch, vice chancellor; Roderic Park, vice chancellor; Ronald Wright, vice chancellor; Richard Hafner, public affairs officer; John Cummins and Michael R. Smith, chancellor's staff; Patrick Hayashi and B. Thomas Travers, undergraduate affairs; Mary Jacobs, Hal Reynolds, and Michelle Woods, student affairs; Derry Bowles, William Foley, Joseph Johnson, and Ellen Stetson, campus police. (Bancroft Library use only.)

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Includes interviews with thirty-five persons who knew him well: Horace M. Albright, Stuart LeRoy Anderson, Katherine Connick Bradley, Franklin M. "Dyke" Brown, Ernest H. Burness, Natalie Cohen, Paul A. Dodd, May Dornin, Richard E. Erickson, Walter S. Frederick, David P. Gardner, Marion Sproul Goodin, Vernon L. Goodin, Louis H. Heilbron, Robert S. Johnson, Clark Kerr, Adrian A. Kragen, Mary Blumer Lawrence, Stanley E. McCaffrey, Dean McHenry, Donald H. McLaughlin, Kendrick Morrish, Marion Morrish, William Penn Mott, Jr., Herman Phleger, John B. deC. M. Saunders, Carl W. Sharsmith, John A. Sproul, Robert Gordon Sproul, Jr., Wallace Sterling, Wakefield Taylor, Robert M. Underhill, Eleanor L. Van Horn, Garff B. Wilson, and Pete L. Yzaguirre.

The University of California Office of the President and Its Constituencies, 1983-1995. Three volumes, 2002, 1166 pp.

Volume I: *The Office of the President.* Includes interviews with Stephen Arditti, William B. Baker, Ronald W. Brady, William R. Frazer, and Cornelius L. Hopper, M.D..

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